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MAX KRETZER

A STUDY IN GERMAN NATURALISM

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A STUDY IN GERMAN NATURALISM

BY

GÜNTHER KEIL

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TO

DR. PAUL KYLE

PREFACE

The strong revival of interest which the German reading public has shown in Max Kretzer during and after the World War appears to the present writer a phenomenon of more than casual interest to the student of German naturalistic literature. The majority of early naturalists — and this is true even of such colorful personalities as Conradi, Alberti, and Bleibtreu — have survived only in histories of literature; Max Kretzer, on the other hand, has been singularly successful in regaining a large public. And it is particularly Kretzer's early novels in which interest is manifested — those very novels on which rests his reputation as "a pioneer of the German naturalistic novel." This is the rôle which has been assigned to Kretzer by traditional literary criticism. There has been lacking, however, a special investigation to substantiate what has been in most cases merely an *ex cathedra* verdict. This need the present study aims to supply.

The first chapter attempts to bring together the main factors of German literary naturalism in their historical setting. For a fuller understanding of what contribution Kretzer has made to naturalism, the second chapter combines a brief résumé of his life and work with a statement of the scope of this study. The five following chapters are devoted to the study of novels which represent the naturalism of Kretzer at its best.

The conclusion analyzes Kretzer's growth as a writer and social thinker, and in broad outline attempts to show that

the material and technique developed by Kretzer anticipated the future course of German naturalism.

I thought it desirable to translate certain quotations which are characteristic of Kretzer's style, and to place the original German in the footnotes. In the translation I have endeavored not so much to give a literal rendering as to preserve, where possible, the flavor of Kretzer's style. There are, however, three passages written in slang or dialect (pp. 34, 48, 49, 63), for which it would be impossible to find a satisfactory English equivalent.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my obligations to those men who have helped me toward the completion of the present study.

To Max Kretzer I desire to express my gratitude for placing at my disposal feuilletons and other material difficult of access, as well as for contributing an original essay — " Meine Stellung zum Naturalismus " (cf. Appendix I). Mr. Peter Wörmke of Hamburg has kindly compiled a bibliography of Kretzer's works (cf. Appendix II). This bibliography was thoroughly revised by Max Kretzer himself, who supplemented it with numerous items and thus brought it up to September 15, 1928. To Professor G. A. Betz I am greatly indebted for valuable advice in the preparation of the manuscript for the press, and to Mr. H. G. Wendt for reading the proof.

But most of all am I indebted to Professor Robert Herndon Fife, whose scholarly guidance and kindly interest have made the completion of this monograph possible.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
I. THE BACKGROUND OF NATURALISM	1
II. A BRIEF SURVEY OF MAX KRETZER'S LIFE AND WORKS	12
III. A NOVEL OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: DIE BEIDEN GENOSSEN	22
IV. A NOVEL OF PROSTITUTION: DIE BETROGENEN	35
V. A NOVEL OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT: DIE VERKOMMENEN	51
VI. A NOVEL OF ELITE SOCIETY: DREI WEIBER	65
VII. A NOVEL OF THE NEW ECONOMY: MEISTER TIMPE	76
CONCLUSION	95
APPENDIX I: "MEINE STELLUNG ZUM NATURALISMUS." VON MAX KRETZER	105
APPENDIX II: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF KRETZER'S WORKS	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120
INDEX	123

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF NATURALISM

The period which was to usher in and lay the foundation for the literary movement which soon came to be known as naturalism, can best be studied in terms of its four outstanding aspects: the political, the economic, the social, and the intellectual. Each of these contributed largely, though not equally, to the shaping of the pattern that naturalism in German literature was destined to take.

Politically, the events ranged themselves largely according to the effects of certain Bismarckian policies. In his attempt to make Germany a world-power — *the* world-power — capitalizing and exploiting the economic resources which were piling up, Bismarck was compelled continually to shape his domestic policies under the pressure of two forces: first, the general socializing influences of the last quarter of the century; second, the rise of Social Democracy as a political force.

These same events appeared in their economic guise as a rapid, indeed unparalleled, expansion of German commerce and industry. New inventions, new scientific processes, and new organizations brought in their wake the enormously complex industrialism which had already developed in England and France. And in Germany the results usually following the rise of capitalism were to be found, as they had been found in other countries. Although Germany had been warned by the dreadful conditions in England following the Napoleonic period, and by the first proletariat up-

risings throughout Europe in 1848, nevertheless there seemed to be no effective way of preventing the social ills which rushed in with the new order. In her attempts to ameliorate them, however, Germany was soon far ahead of other countries in social legislation. Yet this could neither prevent the rise of the industrial proletariat nor, with it, the spread of those malignant social diseases which had elsewhere marked the growth of capitalism. The more efficient methods of the industrial system brought about the economic ruin of those business men who could not or would not employ its methods. They were, for the most part, the owners of small businesses and the handicraftsmen. As these bankrupt men turned to factory work for a means of livelihood, their numbers swelled the masses who were already dependent upon the factories for their living. With this constantly augmented supply, labor could maintain just so much less effectively a decent wage standard.

A survey of the larger economic significances of these phenomena can not disregard their social aspects. The rise of the industrial proletariat gave form to the social problems for the coming decades. These problems clustered around two foci: first, the partial depopulation of the rural districts and the subsequent loss of some of the most precious and most substantial elements of old Germany; second, and much more important, the rise of the city slums and increase in the city poor. Despite the fact that Germany had been fortunate enough to benefit by the experiences of the countries which had gone through the development earlier, and even though her statesmen had been especially farseeing in their attempts to hold in check the worst evils resulting from this social evolution, German cities were to have their slums, and with them, all the wretchedness which accompanies the crowding together of the population in the narrow quarters of the modern city.

The intellectual history of Germany at this time was to be colored by all the changes alluded to above, and to be influenced by other phenomena which seemed to bear particularly upon it. In the first place, the multiplication of inventions was accompanied by the rise of physical sciences. Since the time of Newton and Leibniz it had been the dream of scientists to bring all natural phenomena under general formulae. The social philosophers of the eighteenth century had carried this ideal over into their own fields. The resulting formulae were the immutable and inexorable laws of economics and other forms of social philosophy. Soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, evolutionary thinkers attacked the static character of these earlier formulations. This struggle did not, however, last long. Positivist thinkers were able to reconcile both concepts, sacrificing neither evolution nor natural law: evolution, the new gospel, simply follows natural laws. Karl Marx had employed precisely the same method in his insistence that his principles and his conclusions applied only to the present stage of the world's economic development, namely capitalism.

Thus, a general rationalistic explanation was given to account for everything in the world of intellect, emotion and will, as well as in the physical world. A counterpart of the evolutionary method was to be found in the sphere of ethics in Nietzsche's "revaluation of values." Strauss and Feuerbach and their disciples had read the spirit of the times into the life of Christ. Religion itself was in some measure being reinterpreted in a positivist sense. In the midst of these rapid intellectual changes, the young philosophers came to look upon romance and beauty as fantasy. To these young men, life afforded but one reaction, Weltschmerz. Thus the followers of Schopenhauer and the precursors of Nietzsche poured forth ill-conceived pess'-

mistic sentiments in the name of philosophy. In view of the great progress of the natural sciences, it was inevitable that the explanation given to the world of nature — a blunt, crass materialism — should be carried over to moral spheres of thought.

This, in brief, is the background from which literary naturalism was to emerge. In similar times, literary men of other countries had felt the urge to formulate their experiences in literature. On the other hand, literary Germany had singularly failed to catch the spirit of the times, or at least many young literati thought so. At last in 1885, Carl Bleibtreu heralded a new generation of writers who were to become the champions of the new movement in literature. His *Revolution der Literatur,* though bombastic and reflecting a revolutionary temperament, is, and perhaps for those very reasons, programmatic for naturalism at its birth. " It would seem," he declares, " as though the social problems were absolutely non-existent for German writers: and yet ours are days of wild agitation, fraught with danger . . . It is therefore the first and foremost duty of literature to seize upon the great problems of the age." [1]

Bleibtreu's indictment is supported by even a cursory inspection of the field of German literature at the time. It is true that in poetry a new type of writing with new interests was being brought forward by a few men,[2] but in prose the prevailing genre was still the pseudo-romantic, semi-

[1] Carl Bleibtreu, *Revolution der Literatur,* Leipzig, 1885, pp. 12–13: " Es ist, als wären die furchtbaren sozialen Fragen für die deutschen Dichter gar nicht vorhanden: Und doch ist unsere Zeit eine wild erregte, gefahrdrohende . . . Es ist daher die erste und wichtigste Aufgabe der Poesie, sich der großen Zeitfragen zu bemächtigen."

[2] Cf. Erwin H. Bohm, *The Development of German Naturalism in German Poetry from the Hainbund to Liliencron,* Ohio State University, 1917, p. 53 *et passatim.*

historical novel.[3] In one sense, in view of the great interest which history held for people at the time, this can be partly explained, yet it leaves Bleibtreu's charge unanswered. The novel which depicted the social and psychological struggles of modern man in this economically determined, materialistic world had yet to be written. So far there were no Germans who might exert on the young writers of Germany the vitalizing influence which Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and other foreign authors [4] were wielding upon the young men of their own countries. These foreign authors were indeed to become models for young Germany. In fact, they were the only models to whom the literary youth of Germany could turn. Thus it would be difficult to overestimate the influence which French, Russian, and Scandinavian writers exerted at this time upon the young men who were so passionate in their desire to bring into literature what they considered the real Germany.[5] This Germany they found in the large industrial centers, for, as "socialism at its beginning was a movement in large cities, so naturalism was at first the literature of large cities." [6]

What are the characteristics of this genre which was to grow up beside the social developments of the times? Was it something arising *ex nihilo* simultaneously with a new social organization? This was not the case: just as the social organization, despite widespread and rapid changes,

[3] Hellmuth Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman,* Dresden, 1912, pp. 210 ff. Johannes Volkelt, *Aesthetische Zeitfragen,* München, 1895, pp. 153–156.

[4] Edmond and Jules Goncourt, Flaubert, Dostojewski, Strindberg, Björnson.

[5] Wolfgang Stammler, *Deutsche Literatur vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart,* Breslau, 1924, pp. 11–13.

[6] Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit,* Leipzig, 1922, p. 215: "Der Sozialismus ist zunächst Großstadtbewegung, der Naturalismus Großstadtdichtung."

grew out of what had gone before, so naturalism grew out of the literature of the preceding generation. Naturalism is merely a new phase in new circumstances of a much older process. Hence one must look to the realistic period immediately preceding for the origin of naturalism.

Realism, like its successor, attempted to interpret living, not from any normative point of view but from the brute facts which life supplies in the experiences of men. This great similarity makes it helpful to consider realism as the forerunner of naturalism, or naturalism as the concluding phase of the history of a realistic literary interpretation. Therefore, while it is not difficult to differentiate between the best examples of both types — say Freytag's *Soll und Haben* (1855) and Holz and Schlaf's *Neue Gleise* (1892) — any attempt to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation would be hazardous. Under such circumstances, the most satisfactory procedure is to relate a work to one or the other tendency according as it shares the characteristics which mark the crest of the realistic or naturalistic movement.[7] Such a contrast allows very definite statements to be made about realism and naturalism. This will be discussed from two analytical aspects: subject-matter and technique.

In the first place, a difference between the two schools lies in the treatment of subject-matter. The realist selected his materials and shaped them to suit his purposes; the naturalist compiled all available data and attempted to reproduce them in their totality. "The naturalist," as one of their school points out, "is devoid of individuality as an artist: his material controls him. The realist, on the other hand, has artistic control over his subject-matter: that

[7] For example, Kretzer's *Die beiden Genossen* (1880) conforms to a general conception of naturalism (cf. below, p. 32 f.), while the later works of Spielhagen bear the closest resemblance to what is conceived to be realism.

cross-section of life which he delineates, he presents in a new light." [8] Realism, in fact, attempted to take all life for its sphere but, judged from the standpoint of the later naturalist, failed in this attempt. Thus, the realistic authors were loath to commit to writing what they held to be ugly or vile. This brings up an important difference immediately, for the naturalists refused to recognize such conventional categories, and thus while not making a conscious effort to introduce repulsive material, they were quite willing to write of those subjects which the authors of the older school regarded as horrible and unfit for treatment in literature. On the other hand, when the realist attempts for moral purposes to depict the seamy side of life, he does so with the intent of shedding light on a source of evil hitherto overlooked. This is the usual apology for the interest in the sensational which those writers often manifested. Herein, however, lies another difference between the two schools. To write of a subject because it was unusual would seem to the naturalist like committing the worst possible of literary sins — romanticizing. The same topics that a realist like Dickens, Flaubert, or Spielhagen treated as sensational, the naturalist regarded and treated as commonplace. The sensational character of Kretzer's earlier novels would therefore seem to be a heritage from his early literary influences, notably Gutzkow and Spielhagen.

In comparing the main factors of either technique, the most obvious difference, perhaps, is revealed in the treatment of dialogue. In realism, no studied attempt is made to reproduce the dialect of the various characters who, indeed, are quite likely to " talk out of character." For example, the

[8] Conrad Alberti, *Plebs,* Leipzig, 1887, p. 184: "Der Naturalist hat als Künstler keine Individualität, der Stoff bemeistert ihn: der Realist aber bemeistert künstlerisch den Stoff, rückt den Weltausschnitt, den er darstellt, in ein eigenes Licht."

proletarians of Spielhagen utter long theoretical disquisitions on the times. They do not discuss strictly contemporaneous politico-social events.[9] In naturalism, on the other hand, very careful attention was paid to dialogue, until an almost phonographic reproduction was attained. With Kretzer's characters, an effort, and in certain instances a very successful one, is made to have their manner of conversation reflect their position and personality.[10] Similar to this difference is the fact that naturalism, in depicting the milieu, paid infinitely closer attention to detail than did realism.[11] Indeed this accumulation of detail until it almost presents a photographic reproduction of reality is one of the main characteristics differentiating naturalism from realism.[12]

Hence, in naturalism minute descriptions of all kinds of situations, especially the most common, were carefully

[9] The fact that the young naturalists were keenly aware of this difference in style and treatment of subject-matter, is illustrated in the following remark by Conrad Alberti, *ibid.*, p. xi: "Ist erst einmal die Wahrheit 'Mode geworden,' dann darf . . . selbst Altmeister Spielhagen uns nicht mehr die guten 48er Demokraten als funkelnagelneue deutsche Reichs-Sozialdemokraten vorführen . . ."

[10] Cf. below, pp. 34, 48, 49, 63.

[11] In case of novels hovering on the border line between realism and naturalism, as in Kretzer's *Die beiden Genossen,* it is difficult to prove such a statement in view of the lack of objective literary criteria. One can only bring forward "Stilproben" for subjective appraisal.

[12] This difference is best illustrated by comparing the stage directions of a realistic play with those of a naturalistic work. For example, in Freytag's *Die Journalisten* (1854) the stage directions are restricted to generalities; it is left to the stage-manager and to the actor to supply details. In Holz and Schlaf's *Die Familie Selicke* (1890), however, the stage directions are so minutely and so precisely stated as to virtually eliminate the creative work of the *régisseur,* and to prescribe almost every move and gesture to the actor. (For a full discussion, cf. Otto Doell, *Die Entwicklung der Form im jüngstdeutschen Drama,* Halle a.S., 1910.)

worked out. In character delineation the wisest course seemed to be to borrow a model from life in order that the traits of character might be concrete and definite. The naturalism of Germany was to have its *Schlüsselroman,*[13] following the old order but changed for the purposes of the naturalistic technique. Plots were not to be valued for their thrilling unexpectedness; rather the plots of the novels were to follow closely the fates of actual families, altered only insofar as by such a change additional " data " could be included. Thus it was the acknowledged aim of the naturalists to be " scientific." This is expressed most succinctly in the " Ten Theses " of the literary club *Durch.*[14] The third states: " Our literature is to be ' modern ' in its content; it is born of a philosophy of life which, despite all controversy, is gaining ground daily. This philosophy is a result of the technical progress of civilization which unveils the secrets of Nature, releases all energies, transforms matter, and bridges over every chasm." [15] And again, the strong insistence on detailed description of the milieu and particularly of " the smallest cause, the most insignificant progress and retardation " is neatly summarized by Wilhelm Bölsche in this statement:

" It is precisely the study of the biological phenomena of

[13] Cf. below, p. 65 f., footnote 1.

[14] Cf. Albert Soergel, *op. cit.,* pp. 116–122, for an account of the membership and the activities of this club. — These theses were set up by Eugen Wolff in a lecture given before this club, and were first published in the *Deutsche Universitäts-Zeitung,* January 1, 1888. (Cf. Adalbert von Hanstein, *Das jüngste Deutschland, Zwei Jahrzehnte miterlebter Literaturgeschichte,* Leipzig, 1901, pp. 78–79.)

[15] " Unsere Literatur soll ihrem Gehalt nach eine moderne sein; sie ist geboren aus einer trotz allen Widerstreits täglich an Boden gewinnenden Weltanschauung, die ein Ergebnis der . . . die Geheimnisse der Natur entschleiernden und der alle Kräfte aufrüttelnden, die Materie umwandelnden, alle Klüfte überbrückenden technischen Kulturarbeit ist . . ."

evolution begun by Darwin which renders it inevitable that we grow used to attributing the greatest conceivable importance to the smallest causes, and to the most trivial incidents of progress or retardation. A poet who has read only a few lines of Darwin will treat things of daily life with particular esteem, and he will keep in mind that it is not only the momentous events which shake the whole world but also the insignificant things which will facilitate an intellectual penetration as seen through the eyes of a poet." [16]

These excerpts supply a commentary not only on what the naturalists attempted to do but also on how little they understood the real meaning of the scientific method. But the sincerity of their purpose is unquestionable, and a study of their works reveals how hard they labored to attain what they believed to be a scientific method of treating life.

Thus naturalism took for its proper field all life, life as it was lived by the ordinary man. The various aspects of this man's life — his social, political, religious, aesthetic views and experiences — were borrowed for him from the views and experiences of the naturalists themselves. They conceived man as being governed by the " scientific " laws of nature, which had been developed in their physical aspects from nineteenth century science and in their social aspects from the deterministic philosophy of materialism. Man's

[16] W. Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie, Prolegomena einer realistischen Aesthetik,* Leipzig, 1887, p. 83: " Gerade das Studium der biologischen Phänomene der Artumwandlung, wie es Darwin angebahnt, führt von selbst darauf, daß wir uns gewöhnen, den kleinsten Ursachen, den winzigsten Fortschritten und Störungen die allergrößte Wichtigkeit beizulegen. Der Dichter, der nur einiges von Darwin gelesen, wird mit ganz besonderer Wertschätzung an die Dinge des täglichen Lebens herangehen und sich sagen, daß nicht das Ungeheure, Welterschütternde allein die geistige Durchdringung durch die dichterische Anschauung ermögliche, sondern auch das Kleine . . ."

fate, then, is determined for him by an economic and cultural order. Thus he is denied any freedom of will and can have no refuge in the happy realm of ideas. With few exceptions the religion of the naturalistic man identifies God with life in all its phases and manifestations. The ethical conclusions to be deduced from such a system of thought are obvious. Man must align himself with nature and the fulfillment of its laws. While things are as they are, one must suffer accordingly; at the next stage of natural development, things will be different and man must then order his life differently. The sin of the generation lies in not facing the facts, in deluding itself about the efficacy of charity, innocence, and mercy in view of the struggle for existence among creatures and classes of creatures. But there are some definite agencies which are obviously concerned with man's welfare. Certainly education (especially when concerned with actual living, such as sex-enlightenment), a knowledge of the times and of the conflicts from which the classes are suffering: these are remedies which science commends as efficacious. Thus, the basically pessimistic, grimly materialistic philosophy of the naturalists was somewhat tempered by the hopeful promises which science held out for the eventual betterment of man's fate. Meanwhile, however, in this world of strict reality, such aesthetic categories as conventional beauty and conventional ugliness had no meaning for the naturalists. They were concerned with a strict imitation of the actual. What constituted for them the " actual," will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SURVEY OF MAX KRETZER'S LIFE AND WORKS

The answer to the call flung to literary "Jüngstdeutschland" by Bleibtreu's *Revolution der Literatur*[1] came from those centers which "were wild with agitation and fraught with danger." The new generation of writers was to have as its abodes such cities as Munich and Berlin.[2] They were completely captivated by the new world of the large city. They praised, cursed, and hated metropolitan life in turn, but nevertheless it held them enchanted.[3] The majority of these naturalists were poor. Many of them even lived with the poor. Thus, being brought into daily contact with the proletarian class, and suffering with them, they were enabled to study and reflect at close range upon the condition of the suffering millions.[4] A new Germany, pulsating with industrial life, and particularly a *Groszstadtleben*, with its social and economic contrasts constantly growing sharper, its humming factories and swarming tenements,

[1] Cf. above, p. 4.

[2] For example, M. G. Conrad, Greif, v. Reder, Kirchbach, Schaumberg, Conradi, Halbe, Thoma, Wedekind lived in Munich; Kretzer, H. and J. Hart, Schlaf, Holz, A. von Hanstein, Sudermann, G. Hauptmann, Henckell, Bleibtreu, Hartleben, Lienhard lived in Berlin.

[3] Stammler, *op. cit.*, p. 14. — Hans Benzmann, *Moderne deutsche Lyrik, Ältere Generation*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 165–6, 394–5. — Friedrich Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Dresden, 1922, II, pp. 295–6.

[4] Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 84–5. — H. Benzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–202.

its reeking beer and " schnapps " saloons, where the worker could stupefy himself and forget for a brief time his hardships, and the brightly lighted streets and gaudy cafés where the daughters of the poor sold themselves nightly to satisfy the passions of the newly rich: — this was the new Germany which harbored the young literary generation, gave them their scanty bread, and made them suffer with their fellows. This was a Germany which had not been depicted hitherto. This was a Germany whose life held a moral for all those who lived it. It is little wonder that these men were filled with a desire to write of this new life. Living among the proletariat, they were the first to be conscious of the proletariat and to give it a real voice. The very life which they lived was drama, genuine drama. No wonder, then, that one finds in the writings of a man like Kretzer many references to incidents in his own life. Nor is it surprising that one likewise finds in his works characters drawn from the young author's actual associations in this milieu.

Kretzer himself has insisted quite categorically on the close relationship between his art and the events and experiences of his colorful career. In a feuilleton, " Meine Romane," [5] he says: " The story of my novels is at the same time the story of my life, in the sense that I could not have written them if life had not driven me, with compelling force, to release what I have felt and observed." He continues: " There is experience at the bottom of all my novels, perhaps only in the form of episodes, which made me create the entire novel." At the same time he points out and names many of the characters whom he found among his acquaintances. Finally he says: " In *Meister Timpe* I have

[5] *Magdeburgische Zeitung,* September 22, 1912. — Reprinted in *Die Büchergilde, Zeitschrift der Büchergilde Gutenberg,* Berlin, No. 9, September, 1927.

portrayed many features of my father, whose patriotism was unshaken." Kretzer sent the present writer an essay in which he outlines his general attitude towards naturalism. This essay appears as Appendix I to this study. In it he again expresses his close adherence to his own experiences both for his episodes and for his characters.

The story of Kretzer's life is the story of a family which, after having lived in comfortable circumstances for a long time, is suddenly, through financial reverses, reduced to a state of pauperism, fighting off dire need and hoping against hope for a return to a decent economic existence.[6] Kretzer's father, from 1852 to 1859, was the leaseholder of the restaurant "Odeum" in Posen, East Prussia. Here, on June 7, 1854, Max, the fourth son, was born. In the spacious garden adjoining the establishment, Franz Wallner, then director of the Posen Stadttheater, gave at that time performances during the summer. In the Odeum, polite society met, and our author recounts with obvious delight how Kaiser Wilhelm I, accompanied by the commanding general and the Herr Oberpräsident of the province of Posen, attended a performance in this summer-theater. In 1859, Kretzer Senior, then prosperous, wished to make himself independent. He bought a country estate in the outskirts of Posen. Here he opened a restaurant, the "Eldorado," which, through no fault of his own, he eventually had to sell at auction. Facing complete financial ruin, the family moved to Berlin in 1867.

The memories Kretzer has from the time of his birth to that dismal day thirteen years later when his family set out for the Prussian capital, are only of the happiest. But things were to be different upon his arrival in the metropo-

[6] The following biographical sketch is based mainly on Kretzer's feuilleton, "Aus meinem Leben," *Ostsee Zeitung,* Stettin, June 7, 1924, and is supplemented by references to Kretzer's works.

lis. Young Max found employment in a lamp factory, where he worked from six in the morning till seven at night. An account of the conditions in such a factory is given in the short story " Der alte Andreas." [7]

In *Wilder Champagner* [8] he speaks of his apprenticeship to a china painter. Eventually, he felt himself capable of undertaking the full professional responsibilities of sign-painting. A retrospect on this chapter in his career is found in his sketch " Der Fassadenraphael." [9] Sign-painting gave him an insight into even more wretched conditions than those obtaining in the lamp factory. Perhaps, too, as he grew older, he became more sensitive, not only to his own situation but also to the miseries of the proletariat in general. At any rate, he began to mingle with radicals among the workers, and though not identifying himself with their political party, he could not withhold an expression of great sympathy with the wretchedness around him.

As his sympathies became known, he attracted the attention of one of the older men who was interested in the problems of the workers, Franz Duncker, the editor of the radical *Berliner Volkszeitung*. While waiting to accept an offer of secretarial work from Duncker, Kretzer undertook a painting job which probably changed the course of his life. As he worked above the street, the ladder broke under him and he suffered severe injuries. For three months, a broken ankle bone kept him from working and, being without money, he tried to gain a few pfennigs by writing stories. This was his first literary attempt although, as he tells us, he had long hoped that he might eventually become

[7] Max Kretzer, *Berliner Sittenbilder,* Berlin, n.d. (1911), pp. 49 ff.

[8] Max Kretzer, *Wilder Champagner, Berliner Erinnerungen und Studien,* Leipzig, 1919, pp. 122 ff.

[9] Max Kretzer, *Ausgewählte Werke,* Berlin, n.d. (1911), III, pp. 105 ff.

a writer.[10] The *Berliner Volkszeitung* published this first effort, a humorous sketch entitled "Der kleine Dög."[11] After his recovery he devoted himself to writing for Duncker's paper, but it was not until the publication of his first novel *Sonderbare Schwärmer* (1879) that he set out on a literary career.

The young author pursued his aim with singular tenacity of purpose, as is evident from the long list of works that followed in rapid succession. They have to this day a formidable quantitative appeal. At the lowest possible estimate so low in fact as to be certainly a decided underestimate, more than one million copies of Max Kretzer's works have reached the public.[12] An examination of the bibliography (cf. Appendix II) will reveal the fact that after a

[10] Max Kretzer, *Die Verkommenen,* pp. 151, 263, 270. The accident and the convalescence are also related in this novel, pp. 406–7.

[11] Reprinted in Kretzer's collection of Berlin sketches *Im Riesennest,* Leipzig, 1886.

[12] The statistics for the number of Kretzer's books which have been published are quite incomplete. According to detailed information supplied by Mr. Peter Wörmke, a book-dealer in Hamburg, most of the publishing firms through which Kretzer's early novels appeared have gone out of business. This makes adequate compilation quite impossible. For instance, certain books are tabulated by thousands, whereas others are tabulated by editions. Thus fifteen novels, tabulated by thousands (Appendix II, Section A), represent 463,000 copies. Of these, *Der Mann ohne Gewissen* reached 185,000, and three others, *Drei Weiber, Treibende Kräfte,* and *Der Millionenbauer* attained 80,000, 45,000, and 30,000 respectively. The other eleven make up the remainder. Eighteen other novels are tabulated by editions. Counting one edition as one thousand, which according to the opinion of Mr. Wörmke is the *minimum* figure, these eighteen novels increase the number by 103,000. But the ninth edition of *Meister Timpe* is 18,000. Thus for these eighteen novels, instead of 103,000, one can count at least 120,000. This brings up the total of the novels to 583,000. By the same method of calculation, Kretzer's other works (Sections B–E) represent at least 165,000

great popularity in the decades from 1880 to 1900, the demand for Kretzer's writings decreased until after 1919, when edition after edition of even his oldest works issued from the press. From 1919 to 1921 particularly, years of tremendous moment in the social history of Germany, most of his works were reprinted, and here again especially his early novels.

To hazard a hypothesis which might explain fully Kretzer's popularity would be a futile endeavor. One must bear in mind that not all of his works are of the same type. In fact, many of them seem to have been conceived for no other purpose than to tell a tale as expeditiously as possible. The five novels which are the subject of special consideration in this study are his most popular ones.[13] These five novels have been selected, however, not because of their popularity but for chronological reasons. They are the

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copies. Five works, *Gefärbtes Haar,* the ninth edition of *Magd und Knecht, Die Locke, Kreuz und Geissel,* and *Wilder Champagner,* total 85,000. The remaining works, reaching 80 editions, represent at least 80,000 copies. Thus the minimum total of copies (novels, 583,000; other works, 165,000) is 748,000.

We counted 183 editions as 183,000 copies; but we know that 66 editions total 566,000 copies for an average of 8,500 copies. If we omit *Der Mann ohne Gewissen* (185,000 for 4 editions) and *Drei Weiber* (80,000 for 8 editions) the average is still over 5,000 per edition. On this basis it is obvious that the total number of copies of Kretzer's works has reached well over a million.

[13] *Die beiden Genossen,* sixth edition, 1920; *Die Betrogenen,* eighth edition, 1920; *Die Verkommenen,* twentieth edition, 1924; *Drei Weiber,* eighth edition, 1920 (it has been remarked that this edition brought the number of copies of this work up to 80,000); *Meister Timpe,* ninth edition, 1927 (it has been noted that the ninth edition alone was 18,000). Other novels which have had a successful sale are: *Der Mann ohne Gewissen,* 185,000 up to 1924 (this work has appeared in a very inexpensive edition); *Treibende Kräfte,* 1921, 45,000; *Der Millionenbauer,* 1926, 30,000.

works which Kretzer produced between 1880 and 1888,[14] the decade preceding the period of naturalism proper. A study of these novels will make it clear that Kretzer anticipated the technique and subject-matter which characterized the naturalistic school, and that he may therefore be considered a pathfinder in the new literary movement. His later novels, in spite of some new social interests, either repeat the material and treatment of his earlier work, or else merely narrate romances of life among the hardy bourgeoisie. A summary of the more important ones may bear this out.

Kretzer tells us that he never accepted the interpretation of the doctrinaire naturalists concerning religion (cf. Appendix I). Yet *Die Bergpredigt* (1890) and *Das Gesicht Christi* (1896) share the doctrinaire dissatisfaction with the established church. Both present sincere indictments against the clergy. The importance of *Das Gesicht Christi,* furthermore, lies in the command which Kretzer shows in this novel over character delineation, in further development of the methods he had adopted in the earlier novels. The novel is also of interest because of its avowed symbolism.

The economics of industrialism, first expounded in *Meister Timpe,* were to be amplified in the following novels: *Der Millionenbauer* (1891), *Irrlichter und Gespenster* (1893), *Verbundene Augen* (1899), *Der Mann ohne Gewissen* (1904), *In Frack und Arbeitsbluse* (this was published earlier in 1911 under the title *Waldemar Tempel*), and *Treibende Kräfte* (1913). In these novels nothing is added to the picture as it appears in *Die beiden Genossen* and *Meister Timpe,* except that in addition a fairly detailed

[14] Dates of first editions: *Die beiden Genossen,* 1880; *Die Betrogenen,* 1882; *Die Verkommenen,* 1883; *Drei Weiber,* 1886; *Meister Timpe,* 1888.

account of the methods of banking and finance is given in *Irrlichter und Gespenster* and *Verbundene Augen.*

Drei Weiber is the only novel in which Kretzer attempts to expose polite society. Three other novels depict the life of the wealthy bourgeoisie. These are: *Die Buchhalterin* (1894), *Die gute Tochter* (1895), and *Familiensklaven* (1904). In two novels, *Die blanken Knöpfe* (1912) and *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde* (1913), the author turns to the lighter side of life for his inspiration.

The other novels attempt to depict familiar characters in unimportant situations. None of them recommends itself as having been worked out carefully, and certainly none of the characters is as successfully conceived as the heroes of his working classes and the *petite-bourgeoisie.* The one exception to this is *Fidus Deutschling* (1922).

Kretzer's numerous short stories (cf. Appendix II, Section B) characterize very minutely one single individual who symbolizes some human quality. Invariably such characters reappear in one or more of the novels. Generally speaking, the short stories are "to be considered as precursors of my long Berlin novels, to which fact I call the special attention of literary historians," says Kretzer in the preface to *Berliner Sittenbilder.*[15]

An author who gives such a broad hint to literary historians might be expected to be fully conscious of his literary mission. And indeed, when one looks at the prefaces in reprints of several novels, one finds unmistakable evidence that Kretzer considers himself the founder of a "school." Thus, from *Die Betrogenen* (1920 reprint): "Many readers who pick up this book for the first time will perhaps be surprised to find much that imitators have utilized in drama

[15] Kretzer's dramatic and lyric activity is beyond the scope of this study. For bibliographical purposes, the titles in these categories are given in Appendix II, Sections C and D.

and fiction. The author is gratified at the thought of having imparted stimuli, not only through this novel, but also through his later works."[16] In the fifth reprint of *Drei Weiber* (1917), he names two writers who had taken their cue from his topics. Thus he points out that Sudermann had used the same triangular relationship in his *Sodoms Ende* which he had first employed in *Drei Weiber*. Next he asserts that the theory of sex-enlightenment which is the substance of Wedekind's *Frühlingserwachen* was likewise to be found first in *Drei Weiber*. But as the years passed it seemed to Kretzer that the two disciples mentioned in 1917 had grown to legion. Thus, in *Die Verkommenen:* "A whole school of writers has drawn sustenance from *Die Verkommenen,* in plays, novels, short stories, sketches, and accounts that have become 'typical.' This includes even writers of distinction — at least so accredited. Shall I name them, mention particulars, draw comparisons? Why should I? 'When the sovereign builds, work for the carters abounds.'"[17] Accordingly, Kretzer's attitude toward these "carters" is sharply critical, and he severely takes to task authors like Fulda, Gerhart Hauptmann, Wedekind, and Sudermann.[18]

[16] "Mancher, der dieses Buch zum ersten Male in die Hände bekommt, wird vielleicht erstaunt sein darüber, daß in demselben schon vieles enthalten ist, was Nachahmer dramatisch und novellistisch verwertet haben. Der Verfasser freut sich der Anregungen, die er nicht nur in diesem Roman, sondern auch in seinen späteren Werken gegeben hat."

[17] "Eine ganze Literaturschule hat von den 'Verkommenen' gezehrt: in Dramen, in Romanen, in Novellen, in Skizzen und in typisch gewordenen Schilderungen. Es sind sogar 'Namen' darunter, wenigstens *gewordene.* Soll ich sie nennen, auf Einzelheiten eingehen, Vergleiche ziehen? Warum? 'Wenn Könige bauen, haben die Kärrner zu tun.'" (The italics are Kretzer's.) Reprint, 1921.

[18] Cf. Max Kretzer, *Kreuz und Geißel, Soziale Auferstehungsgedichte und Zeitsatyren,* Leipzig, 1919, pp. 54–59. — An idea of his acid

In the light of critical opinion, Kretzer appears as an author who is both highly praised and severely censured. These criticisms range from bombastic encomia which compare him to Shakespeare down to scurrilous couplets which ask, " How could such a fellow write? " Yet all this diversified criticism acknowledges that he brought new subject-matter into the field of German literature and handled it in a new manner. His hostile critics assail the ineptitude of this new technique, while his admirers recommend it as a new and precious contribution to German style. But however relevant a dispute of tastes may or may not be at this juncture, it can be shown with a fair amount of objectivity that all that Kretzer was to contribute to early naturalism is to be found in the five works to be studied here. The succeeding chapters will attempt to determine this contribution.

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humor may be gained from the following couplet which, though obviously acrid enough, is surpassed by the extreme bitterness of his other criticisms:

" Frühlingserwachen."

In dieser verbauten dramatischen Küche
Riecht man des Dichters kranke Psyche.

CHAPTER III

A NOVEL OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: DIE BEIDEN GENOSSEN

By 1879 Max Kretzer had firmly established himself with a group of comrades who were spreading the new social gospel. During that year his first novel appeared in daily installments in the *Berliner Bürger-Zeitung* under the title of "Bürger ihrer Zeit, Berliner Sittenbilder."[1] As the promising young author of this novel and of three short stories of social content, he "was welcomed with open arms especially by those students who were inclined toward so-

[1] With the changed title of *Sonderbare Schwärmer* the novel was published in book form in 1881, one year after the appearance of *Die beiden Genossen.* (Cf. Julius E. Kloss, *Max Kretzer,* "Eine Studie zur neueren Literatur." Leipzig, 1905, p. 11.)

Sonderbare Schwärmer, strongly sensational in plot and replete with improbable adventures, centering about a fantastic hero, deals with the period of reckless speculative enterprises between 1872 and 1874 (popularly known as the *Gründerjahre*) which, following the payment of the war indemnity by France, ruined many people. (Cf. Werner Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1909, p. 91.)

Inasmuch as this novel, written essentially in the style of Gutzkow or Spielhagen, is not "naturalistic" in any sense, and, moreover, does not introduce any new subject-matter — its motif had been anticipated by Spielhagen in *Sturmflut* (1876) — it will not be considered here. Cf. also the annihilating criticism of the novel by Richard M. Meyer, *op. cit.,* pp. 797–9, the only historian of literature who refers to it at all. Julius E. Kloss, *op. cit.,* pp. 12–15, is altogether too favorable in his comment on the work.

cialism."[2] The next year his second novel, the first to appear in book form, brought him into even greater favor with the "comrades." This novel, *Die beiden Genossen,* marks, for several literary historians, either explicitly or implicitly, the beginning of German naturalism.[3]

With its appearance, certain indications of what course German literature would take are to be found. The German proletariat appears in a new light, while the Social-Democratic party is introduced as a new and promising subject for the German novel. Soergel says in no uncertain terms: "Naturalism and socialism! I link the two concepts not because logically they have to be identical in essence . . . Rather because the social attitude was the fundamental attitude, the fundamental mood, in naturalistic literature!"[4]

[2] M. Kretzer, *Wilder Champagner, op. cit.,* p. 37, ". . . und so wurde ich besonders von den sozialistisch angehauchten Studenten mit offenen Armen empfangen." The short stories, published first (1878–9) in the *Berliner Bürger-Zeitung,* the literary editorship of which was in the hands of Otto von Leixner, are *Polizeiberichte, Der alte Andreas, Die Zweiseelenmenschen.* They were reprinted in book form, with a preface by Kretzer, in *Berliner Sittenbilder,* Leipzig, 1911.

[3] Carl Bleibtreu, *Geschichte der Deutschen National-Literatur,* Berlin, 1912, II, pp. 99–100; A. v. Hanstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 39–40; H. Mielke, *op. cit.,* p. 251. Even stronger support of this is to be found in W. Stammler's review of German naturalism, *op. cit.,* p. 13, where the following positive assertion is made: "Aber mit Kretzer hebt die erste Phase des Naturalismus in Deutschland an. Gerade auf das neue Material, das geboten wurde, stürzten sich die jungen Adepten mit Heißhunger." In the chronological table of Stammler's work, p. 124, the first item is: "1880. — Max Kretzer, *Die beiden Genossen.*"

[4] A. Soergel, *op. cit.,* p. 215. "Naturalismus und Sozialismus! Ich stelle beide Begriffe zusammen, nicht weil sie logisch eine Wesensgleichheit bedeuten *müßten* . . . Aber doch ist . . . das soziale Gefühl das Grundgefühl, die Grundstimmung der naturalistischen Dichtung gewesen." (The italics are Soergel's.)

Authors prior to Kretzer had already treated a similar subject in their novels.[5] This question of priority assumes a particular significance when we examine the works of Spielhagen. It was this author probably more than any other, who influenced Kretzer as a young man. Spielhagen had broached the problem of the industrial proletariat twenty years before Kretzer. For example, in *Problematische Naturen* (1860–1861) and its sequel *Durch Nacht zum Licht* (1863) Spielhagen portrays the conditions of the Revolutionary days as they affected proletarian conditions. In his next novels, *In Reih' und Glied* (1866) and *Hammer und Amboss* (1869), he takes up the problem of the proletariat in its relation to socialism. In all these novels the proletarian characters expound their social philosophy in the learned manner of the political economist. And while the subject-matter he has introduced is, of course, contemporaneous, Spielhagen's novels, "still have entirely the phantastic 'Romanhaftigkeit' of Gutzkow's contemporary novels."[6] This is also exemplified in *Sturmflut* (1876). Once more Spielhagen uses a contemporary motif, that of the "Gründerjahre." Also this novel is written in the sen-

[5] For instance, as early as 1843, Bettina von Arnim published *Dies Buch gehört dem König,* in which a sincere attempt was made to portray the wretchedness of conditions under which certain individuals were forced to live. In 1845, Ernst Willkomm's *Weisse Sklaven* dealt with a similar topic. Indeed, Robert Prutz in *Das Engelchen* (1851) treats the social materials with which he is dealing — the proletariat in the early phases of the industrial revolution — in a manner which almost presages the coming of the new literary era. H. Mielke, *op. cit.,* p. 103, makes the important point that this type of novel, "the socialistic novel of that period — *and herein it differs from the modern socialistic novel* — was not only propaganda but at the same time romanticism and sensationalism."

[6] R. M. Meyer, *op. cit.,* p. 595; see also the admirable summary of Spielhagen's social novels which Meyer gives in the passage following this quotation.

sational and propagandistic manner of his earlier novels. The same is true of Kretzer's first novel, *Bürger ihrer Zeit, Berliner Sittenbilder* (1879).[7] However, in *Die beiden Genossen* (1880) Kretzer makes a radical departure.

This is best illustrated by a comparison of Spielhagen's and Kretzer's treatment of the proletariat. Spielhagen's characters are merely personified abstractions of his political and social doctrines, whereas Kretzer imbues his characters with real life. The novelty of Kretzer's treatment lies in the fact that the proletariat, even though supplying little more than a background for the story, is revealed as a great throbbing mass of humanity fighting to realize its destiny against the odds of social injustice. Its spokesman is the Social-Democratic party as Kretzer had studied it while he himself was facing the same problems.

Die beiden Genossen is a vehicle for the author's socialistic views. Broadly speaking, the proletariat here presented is the industrial proletariat in its relation to socialism. (The government of the new Empire was confronted with numerous problems of domestic politics. The one which was ultimately to outweigh all others in importance, was the protest of the working class under the banner of socialism. Bismarck regarded the rapid growth of the Social-Democratic party as an obstacle to his plans. He met the situation, first through the enactment of social legislation, and second by passing, in 1878, the Law of Exceptions.) [8]

[7] Cf. above, p. 22.

[8] This, the famous "Ausnahmegesetz," permitted the police to deal with all suspected socialistic sympathizers as summarily as they chose. The law proved a failure, for although it remained in force until 1890, its only result was to strengthen and unify the party. But during the period of its enforcement, it supplied the incitement for continual struggles between the agitators and the police. Socialistic newspapers were suppressed, the leaders and agitators were hurried off to prison after quick trials for lèse majesté. (Cf. Karl Lamprecht,

In *Alte Genossen,*[9] written forty-one years after the passing of the above-mentioned act, Kretzer recalls the various and often ingenious subterfuges to which the socialists resorted in their endeavor to circumvent it. They exercised the greatest caution and secrecy concerning their meeting places. Some of the daring ones, however, would openly frequent restaurants and amusement resorts where, posing as card-players or pleasure-seekers, they engaged in conversation with prospective "comrades." In this way, not only were the doctrines disseminated but also prohibited books[10] found an underground passage for sale and exchange. Throughout these activities the sharpest watchfulness was maintained against the traps of stool-pigeons and detectives, while scouts kept guard to warn of sudden raids of armed forces upon the secret conclaves.

For Kretzer, at least, there was not only a conflict between the socialists and the government; in the midst of the socialists' ranks, a fight of even greater significance was being waged. If socialism was the means by which an amelioration of proletarian conditions was to be made possible, then the purity and righteousness of socialism were essential. This was not the case. For — and thus runs the theme of *Die beiden Genossen* — right within the very heart of the group were to be found sources of evil and destruction. Unscrupulous men preaching unscrupulous doctrines preyed upon the welfare of the proletarian as viciously as the most greedy capitalist. For this reason, Kretzer viewed

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Deutsche Geschichte der jüngsten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Berlin, 1913, II, pp. 135 ff.; Gottlob Egelhaaf, *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit,* Stuttgart, 1920, I, pp. 50 ff.)

[9] In *Wilder Champagner, op. cit.,* pp. 39–41.

[10] *Ibid.* For example, August Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus,* "which was published secretly in 1879 and made socialistic ideas accessible to many" (Friedrich Kummer, *op. cit.,* p. 244).

with apprehension the incursions made by a group of radical communists. With their preachments of theft, bloody revolution, and the disregard of all moral restraint, they were iniquity itself to the young author, as he attempted to study the social order.[11]

Die beiden Genossen discloses the conflict which was being waged by the proletariat under the guidance of the Social Democratic party against the forces of political tyranny. But this conflict merely occupies the background. It is right pitted against wrong within the party which holds the author's major interest and which develops the pattern the action is to follow. The plot traces the downfall of both hero and villain: of Schorn, the high-minded state socialist and Rassmann, the radical communist; but before sealing their doom, Kretzer is able to expose the moral problem which so enthralls him, and to make his commentary on it — a commentary which embodies his social philosophy at that period of his life.

The scene of *Die beiden Genossen* is laid in a small provincial town, where Wilhelm Schorn, a hard-working, prosperous joiner and carpenter, is living contentedly with his pretty wife, Hannchen, and their two little children. Schorn

[11] It will appear from a study of *Die beiden Genossen* that young Kretzer was by no means a blind admirer of the Social-Democratic party. His writings thus far had, in one way or another, exposed the social injustice of the times. In consequence, his friends thought him to be in full sympathy with the party. Yet, when the problem of socialism proper is dealt with in *Die beiden Genossen,* we find him quite incensed at the revolutionary tactics of the communist group. Probably the reason why he could never endorse the tendencies which he considered anti-social lay in the effect which the strongly conservative opinions of his father had exerted upon him since childhood, ". . . denn mein Vater war, selbst nach dem Verlust seines Vermögens noch, ein großer Patriot, der uns Kinder frühzeitig den unerschütterlichen Glauben an Gott und die Monarchie förmlich eingeimpft hatte." *Ibid.,* p. 37.

is a model citizen. He is highly esteemed both by the town authorities and his fellow citizens, although everybody knows him to be a Social-Democrat. This, however, is considered a harmless idiosyncrasy of Schorn's, for he keeps to himself and never voices his " dangerous views " in public. The even tenor of this tranquil life of the Schorn family is suddenly interrupted by the appearance of Gustav Rassmann, a school-friend of Schorn's. Rassmann is a former Social-Democratic agitator who, like many others of his ilk, has lost his political office through the enforcement of the Law of Exceptions, and is reduced to poverty.

Schorn welcomes him heartily, supplies him with new clothes and ample pocket money and, in order to allay any suspicion on the part of the townspeople, makes him his business partner. Rassmann, however, through long standing habits of dissipation is incapable of honest work, nor does he make any effort to rehabilitate himself. Instead, he sets out to court Hannchen's favor; spends the greater part of his time in a disreputable café or with a newly-found mistress; and, under the pretense of being slated as candidate for the coming Reichstag election, extracts from Schorn ever increasing sums of money. Finally, he commits a theft and lays the crime on Schorn, who is sent to prison. A year later, after the expiration of his term, Schorn returns to find his business ruined and his house offered for public sale. His children have died in the meantime. His wife has succumbed to the lures of Rassmann. Schorn finds them together, unaware of his return. He strangles them, and delivers himself to the police authorities.

Schorn and Rassmann represent the two opposite camps within the Social-Democratic party. Schorn stands for the still lingering Utopian conception of socialism — " liberté, égalité, fraternité." It is summed up in this confession:

"The day will dawn when our ideas will be realized, and honest work will find recognition. Oh, if I could only do so, I would gladly die in order to make all people happy; I, for my part, want just enough to live contentedly with my wife and children — even if I had to work still harder than I do now; and it is just in work, you know, that I find the greatest happiness." [12]

The figure of Rassmann, on the other hand, typifies socialism in its most radical form.

"His ideal was open, bloody revolution, which alone could lead to the salvation of communism. To him, revolution was the straight road to his goal; all other means were to be discountenanced. If property was declared to be theft, if the party had manifestly written this motto on its banner, then straight to the goal! — for the shortest road is always the best." [13]

Rassmann, in his efforts to win Schorn's wife, is particularly eager to expound the doctrine of free love. On the refutation of this doctrine Kretzer spends his best energies. He interrupts his narrative and launches into a lengthy discussion of the socialistic conception of the emancipation of woman, emphasizing the problem of free love. On this subject, he thus expresses his interpretation of the communistic doctrine:

[12] ". . . der Tag wird anbrechen, wo unsere Ideen sich verwirklichen werden und die ehrliche Arbeit zu ihrem Rechte kommt. O, wenn ich's könnte, ich würde gern sterben, um alle Menschen glücklich zu machen, und ich für meinen Teil will immer nur so viel haben, um mit Weib und Kind zufrieden leben zu können; müßte ich auch noch mehr arbeiten, als ich es heute tue, und gerade in der Arbeit, siehst du, finde ich den Segen auf Erden." (p. 19)

[13] "Sein Ideal war die Revolution, die offene, blutige Revolution, die allein zum Heile des Kommunismus führen konnte. Der Umsturz war der direkteste Weg dazu, alles andere war für ihn vom Übel. Wenn schon einmal Eigentum Diebstahl sein sollte, wenn die Partei es offenkundig auf ihre Fahne geschrieben hatte, dann geraden Wegs zum Ziel, denn der gerade Weg ist immer der beste!" (p. 39)

"The quintessence of the socialistic conception of free love is as follows: Every woman has the right to divorce her husband and the right to desire her neighbor, if at any time she feels or imagines that her ideal conception of marriage, at the time she entered upon it, has not materialized, and if she hopes to find it materialized in another man, the so-called neighbor, rather than in her present husband. If, after the conclusion of a second marriage, she entertains the same notion as at first, it is not impossible that she may find her illusory ideal conception materialized in another 'neighbor,' and so forth. In the reverse situation the husband is to enjoy the same privilege." [14]

Kretzer, of course, repudiates this theory strenuously.[15]

From the above quotations, it will readily be recognized that Kretzer's political views are, at this period, still rather immature. He evidently identifies his views with those of

[14] "Die Quintessenz der sozialistischen Anschauung von der freien Liebe lautet: Jede Frau hat ein Recht auf Trennung von ihrem Gatten und Begehr nach ihrem Nächsten, sobald sie eines Tages empfindet, oder sie in der Einbildung lebt, daß ihre idealen Vorstellungen von der Ehe bei der Eingehung derselben nicht in Erfüllung gegangen seien, und daß sie dieselben bei einem anderen Manne, diesem 'Nächsten,' eher zu finden hoffe, als bei ihrem augenblicklichen Gatten. Hat sie nach Schluß einer abermaligen Ehe dasselbe 'Empfinden' wie zuerst, so ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sie die 'geträumten' idealen Vorstellungen bei einem zweiten 'Nächsten' erfüllt zu sehen hoffen kann. Und so weiter. Im umgekehrten Falle steht dem Manne dasselbe Recht zu." (pp. 128–9)

[15] But the theory Kretzer repudiates is his own misinterpretation of the socialistic attitude toward marriage. For, as is well known, Marx' attack on the existing institution of the family had its source in the belief that the capitalistic régime had exploited this institution by changing it to its purpose. Since, according to Marx, the actual relation between men and women had been made wretchedly sordid by the exigencies of industrialism, while, on the other hand, the capitalistic propagandists had colored this relation in most hollow and sacrosanct tones, Marx believed that another source of social inertia would be removed if the actual conditions of marriage as they were under the existing social order, were revealed.

Schorn who is the typical representative of the substantial *petite bourgeoisie*. There is nothing revolutionary in his views, if one excepts Schorn's statement to the effect that a revolution of economic conditions, since it is inevitable, must be brought about peacefully and legally. Hence, Kretzer is thoroughly opposed to radical communism — as he understands it — for it can only be established, as he has exemplified in Rassmann, by ruthless force. Evidently, Kretzer's aim in writing *Die beiden Genossen* was to expose this radical communism in its fatal consequences. Instead of pointing out a number of differences existing between the two opposing camps within the Socialist party (such as the questions of private property, or of labor-value theories) Kretzer restricts the discussion to one issue only, free love. In short, he fails to grasp the situation in its totality, and, from the point of view of theory, *Die beiden Genossen* is but a one-sided and amateurish effort at presenting political party problems so far as this can be done under the strictures imposed by a purely literary work.

But disregarding how well or how poorly the author as a young man assimilated certain political theories, coexistent with the rise of a new social factor in his environment, the novel rightfully engages our interest for its recognition of this very factor. Nowhere before in German literature had the Social-Democratic party been the skeleton around which a story had been written, nor had the plot of such a story been drawn from actual contemporary political life. In this respect, the recurring allusions to the internal organization of the Social-Democratic party are of particular interest. In the first place, Kretzer describes rather intimately (pp. 183 ff.) certain aspects of its electoral policies. For example, money has to be raised for the coming election campaign (pp. 185 ff.). Again the vicissitudes arising out of the spread of propaganda are discussed

(the printing of handbills, p. 185, the ordering of prohibited books, pp. 112–3). A new note is sounded when Kretzer refers to the Law of Exceptions (pp. 185, 235). Such intimate details, moreover, as Schorn's financial support of the party (pp. 21, 59) are integral elements in the structure of the novel. It is Schorn's stern conception of duty and loyalty which makes him support Rassmann blindly for the sake of the party (p. 28) and this finally leads Schorn to his fall. The description of Rassmann's activities entails another important phase of contemporaneous politics. In narrating the agitator's past, Kretzer opens up new social vistas to the reader. One learns of measures of the Berlin police in their attempts to eradicate the new propaganda (p. 27). In Rassmann, the party agitator and his probable adventures and persecutions are pictured. The reader is introduced to such intimate party considerations as the secret meetings of the Socialists and the formation of their secret clubs, with sinister references to the imminent revolution (pp. 35, 89, 95).

This analysis may serve to illustrate the statement made above (p. 25) that in *Die beiden Genossen* the author made a radical departure in reference to treatment of subject-matter. This statement can be applied only in part to the technique. The novel is not naturalistic in the strict sense of the term but is rather an expression of the literary transition ushered in and within a few years consummated by Kretzer and writers of the same school. In *Die beiden Genossen* there is an overlapping of the newer and older tendencies. In the picture of Rassmann's theft (pp. 204 ff.) with its emphasis on sensational psychologizing in the culprit, the ends of realism are served. There is a noticeable lack of detail, which demonstrates that the typical style of naturalism is not evolved. Yet in the scene preceding the murder (pp. 273 ff.) where Schorn goes to his room to dis-

cover the unfaithfulness of his wife and friend, the attention to detail makes for a new emphasis in realism, which actually transforms it. Again, when one reads the description of life in the café (pp. 66 ff.), one must notice the care taken with the details as means of conjuring up the atmosphere. The travelling salesmen and their transitory amours with the orchestra girls, their stupid jokes and doubtful anecdotes, the suggestive songs of Rosa, the former cabaret girl — all are cases in point.

" In front of the singers' platform a party of travelling salesmen had established themselves and, in the way usual with such people, had at once assumed the privilege of ' being the whole show.' Most of them came from large cities or from Berlin itself and were therefore accustomed to a gay life and a certain pretentiousness of manner. . . . Rosa stayed. . . . The party now had the place to themselves. Smutty stories alternated with singing and boisterous laughter. . . . Rassmann suddenly had an idea: Rosa was to sing a ditty. ' The one you all know, about *A man like you, Monsieur le Marquis.*' This met with general approval." [16]

Then again we see a new literary approach in the detailed delineation of the professional prostitute, this Rosa, who was Rassmann's mistress (pp. 72 ff.). The exposition of her methods of extracting money from Rassmann further illustrate this (pp. 99–102, 120–126). Her every action at

[16] " Vor dem Podium der Sängerinnen hatte sich eine Gesellschaft von Handlungsreisenden etabliert, die . . . nach Art dieser Leute sich sofort das Privilegium aneigneten, den Großen herauszubeißen. Die meisten von ihnen kamen aus großen Fabrikstädten oder direkt aus Berlin, waren somit an ein flottes Leben und ein gewisses imponierendes Auftreten gewohnt. . . . Rosa blieb. . . . Die Gesellschaft war jetzt ganz unter sich. . . . Schmutzige Anekdoten wechselten mit Singen und lautem Gelächter ab. . . . Rassmann bekam plötzlich eine Idee. Rosa sollte ein Couplet singen. ' Weißt du, das bekannt Ding: *So ein Mann wie Sie, wie der Herr Marquis.* Das fand allgemeinen Beifall." (pp. 70 ff.)

the theater is noted and set down (pp. 177 ff.). Finally, her sudden departure for Berlin, after her extortions, is subjected to the sharpest satirical scrutiny (pp. 194 ff.).

As regards language, there are in the novel no indications of the idiom used by the later naturalists in dialogue, with the possible exception of the one speech by Samuel Hirsch, the Jewish pawnbroker, where an endeavor is made to transliterate phonetically his dialect:

"Wie haißt — kommen Se mer nicht damit! Haißt'n Gesabber! Nicht for 'ne Mark ist er mir gut, wenn's der Herr ehrenwerte Schorn mir nicht im Vertrauen gesagt hätte, daß er bürgt for sainen Fraind, weil er ihn hat gemacht zu seinem stillen Soßius. Machen Sie kein Techtelmechtel mit mir, Herr Päßoldt!" (p. 69)

Regardless, however, of the many instances that cannot be considered as naturalistic tendencies, we see in *Die beiden Genossen* attempts toward a new literary order. Subject-matter and literary technique are undergoing a transition. This process becomes more clearly perceptible as the author moves toward a more complete expression.

CHAPTER IV

A NOVEL OF PROSTITUTION: DIE BETROGENEN

Fifteen years had changed a young provincial boy into a disillusioned proletarian. At twenty-eight, Kretzer brought out *Die Betrogenen* (1882), the first novel of the Berlin industrial proletariat.[1] This, with *Die Verkommenen,*[2] was to make a sweeping denunciation of the evils ushered in by the rise of industrialism. Again, as in *Die beiden Genossen,* Kretzer visualized the entire judgment against these evils in terms of the misery which followed in their wake. As the adulterous trysts of Schorn's wife and Rassmann implied all of Kretzer's passionate abjuration of communism,[3] so in *Die Betrogenen,* the inevitable prostitution of the women of the working class summarizes his fierce condemnation of industrialism.

By making prostitution his framework, he is able to present what he believes to be the salient characteristics of the city's social structure.[4] The proletariat provides the background for the novel. Intimate details of the worker's life hold the reader's attention. The author carries him

[1] In his preface to the novel (8th edition, Leipzig, 1920) Kretzer claims that *Die Betrogenen* was " the first ' Berliner Roman ' in which an attempt has been made to reproduce the City and its inhabitants realistically." H. Mielke, *op. cit.,* p. 251, fully supports Kretzer's claim.

[2] See Chapter V.

[3] Cf. above, pp. 26 f.

[4] Kretzer's analysis of " high society " as it is affected by prostitution, is to be found in *Drei Weiber* (see Chapter VI), which is a supplementary study of this problem.

from the squalid homes of the workmen to their factories; he points out the sordid conditions of employment, the only rival in misery to unemployment. He calls Berlin the "North-German Babylon," and gives a reliable guide to Babylon's easy palaces.

Because Kretzer is intensely interested in giving a detailed analysis of this society, and because he must describe its types in terms of individuals, he is forced to put together a cumbersome and rather incredible plot [5] in order that these numerous types might find their places in the novel. To study the types of *Die Betrogenen* is to study in a large measure the contribution which this novel makes to the growing concept of naturalism.[6]

It is, therefore, necessary, in outlining the story, to show what Kretzer made each one represent.

The story opens with the return of Edmund Rother and his bride, Luise, from their honeymoon. They are returning to the house of Rother's father, who, with Edmund, owns a rug-factory nearby. It is noontime, and the workers come pouring into the streets. One of the women in the crowd is Maria Seidel, the first of the Deceived. She had been seduced by Rother with a promise of marriage. Because he had disguised his identity in this, as well as in all his other adventures, the girl had no knowledge that she was now being employed by her seducer. Nor does she recognize in the young bride her former schoolgirl companion. But she sees Edmund as they enter the house.

[5] The obvious fault in the structure of the plot is its naïve dependence on a series of forced coincidences: Edmund Rother marries Maria's friend, the companion of her youth; Maria is employed in Rother's factory, and so is her brother Robert; the illegitimate children of five of the characters are in the care of the same baby-farm. The opportune deaths of Maria's child and of Schott, as well as the existence of incriminating letters, are further cases in point.

[6] See below, p. 65, footnote 1.

Maria has borne Edmund a child who is being kept in a disreputable day-nursery. His child of another affair is likewise harbored there. This is the offspring of one Lina, a waitress, who is now consorting with the patrons of a restaurant where she is employed.

Robert Seidel, Maria's brother, appears on the scene in answer to an advertisement as a cashier for the Rother firm. It develops that after having heard of his sister's seduction, he left the country and upon his return, being unable to locate her, believed her dead. He is unaware that in his employer's house lives the sweetheart of his school-days and in the factory labors his betrayed sister.

This fairly complicated beginning receives an added twist when Leo Brendel, the renegade cousin of Edmund, appears. He seduces a young factory worker, Jenny Hoff. Moreover, he frequents Lina's restaurant and they develop an illicit relationship. It is there that he meets Robert Seidel, who, learning the identity of Rother's bride, succumbs to alcohol to forget his unrequited love. But Brendel inadvertently supplies him with a ray of hope. This rascal, not content with blackmailing Edmund, divulges to Seidel Rother's relations with Lina. Armed with this knowledge, Robert meets Luise and pleads with her to give up her dissolute husband. The interview is interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Edmund. Seidel leaves and by the merest accident encounters his sister, from whom he learns the identity of her seducer. He returns to Rother, tempestuously demanding that Luise shall have the chance to choose between them. Out of her high sense of duty she decides to remain loyal to her husband. As Edmund leaves the room, a letter drops from his pocket. Luise picks it up and from it learns of Maria's seduction. Realizing that her husband has continually deceived her, she changes her decision and departs the following day with her old sweetheart.

This is, in general, the development of the plot. There are other characters who are brought into the scene with varying degrees of skill and, though they play no integral part in the novel, they are of the utmost importance as moral manikins. These will be discussed as the analysis proceeds.

Generally speaking, we have here a vast and intensive study of prostitution. Kretzer distinguishes six principal types of girls who have been deceived. Four represent the group which is to be the source of Berlin's supply of prostitutes. Two do not succumb to the lure of seduction. Maria Seidel and Franziska Berg represent the girls who, despite their betrayal, refuse to barter their bodies to continue a miserable existence. Maria is portrayed as a well-educated bourgeoise, who is forced to earn her living after the death of her parents. Once in the milieu of the working class, she is unprotected from its exploiters. Following her betrayal by Rother, she refuses to take the easier course but fights desperately afterward to maintain her honor. In the same spirit, she makes a futile effort to save a co-worker, but the forces of the milieu conquer. At the end of the story we may well believe that with the aid of her brother her efforts toward rehabilitation will be successful.

Franziska has also had an unfortunate love affair. Her lover, however, was to marry her when military conscription tore them apart. She is pregnant, and after the birth of her child, she is forced, by an accident, to give up her employment. As time goes on, to save her baby from starvation, she forces herself to offer her body on the streets. She accosts Leo Brendel in the street. He insults her. She attacks him and a policeman arrests her at Brendel's instigation. She tears herself from him, runs to a lake and drowns herself. In his sympathetic rendering of this scene, Kretzer fortunately keeps it from melodrama, with

the result that the lesson is obvious: with her last gesture, Franziska refuses to accede to the demands of her ruthless environment.

"At first Franziska was speechless. The loud quarrel had increased the curious crowd that had been attracted to the scene. Among them were two gaudily dressed street-walkers who gazed at Franziska Berg. 'She is going to be registered (by the Health Police), that's what she gets for it,' one said to the other so that the by-standers and Franziska could hear it. . . . And she understood at once the full significance of these words. If one is a working girl, if for years one has been breathing the air of the workshop, one hears and learns things which never reach the ears of more fortunate girls. She had offered herself for payment to a man in a public street, she had thereby openly become a prostitute, she might, therefore, be placed under the surveillance of the Health Police. And yet she had done this because of dire need; this was the reward of her self-sacrificing love for her child. . . . Again the policeman ordered her to come along. She did not budge, but kept looking at him in silence. Now he grasped her by the arm. She tore herself loose and, before any one was able to stop her, ran a few steps along the bulwark, pressed her body between the iron bars of the railing, and hurled herself into the water in silence." [7]

[7] "Franziska war in den ersten Augenblicken sprachlos. . . . Der laut geführte Streit hatte die herbeigelockten Neugierigen vermehrt. . . . Zu ihnen gehörten auch zwei aufgeputzte Straßendirnen, die auf Franziska Berg blickten. 'Die wird eingeschrieben, das hat sie davon,' sagte die eine zu der anderen, daß die Umstehenden, auch die Arbeiterin, es vernehmen konnten. . . . Und die Bedeutung dieses einen Wortes verstand sie im Moment ganz und voll. O, wenn man Arbeiterin ist, seit Jahren die Luft der Werkstätten geatmet hat, dann hört und lernt man so manches, was das Ohr beneidenswerterer Mädchen nie berührt. Sie hatte sich auf offener Straße einem Mann gegen Bezahlung angeboten, sie hatte sich dadurch als Prostituierte zu erkennen gegeben, man durfte sie also unter Aufsicht der Sittenpolizei stellen. Und das hatte sie aus Not und Elend getan, das hatte sie der aufopfernden Liebe zu ihrem Kinde zu

Jenny Hoff, Lina Schmidt, " tall Tine," and Alma Leisemann represent for Kretzer the common types of prostitutes seeking a livelihood in the streets of the industrialized city.

Kretzer has realized the character of Jenny Hoff as he realized Franziska's. Both girls are treated with his full sympathy. Jenny is the most pitiful figure of the book. With the utmost care, he traces her career as it proceeds relentlessly, step by step [8] from innocent girlhood to utterly perverted prostitution. Nevertheless, Jenny is viewed impersonally; not on account of a vicious nature but through the suction of the social maelstrom, she sinks to society's lowest depths. At work in the factory, it is patent that she will succumb; long hours, poor wages, the enticing phrases of Brendel's glib tongue, the lurid descriptions of her depraved comrades — all these are to pull her down.

Lina, the waitress, another typical product of her environment, also began her career as a factory girl. She becomes the mother of a child by Rother. The sorrow she feels as she watches her baby die is commensurate with her compunction in pocketing the returns of her profession. Her philosophy merely states the facts — there is not the slightest note of resignation:

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verdanken. . . . Der Wächter forderte sie abermals auf, mitzugehen. Sie rührte sich nicht vom Fleck, starrte ihn noch immer stumm an. Jetzt faßte er sie am Arm. Sie riß sich los, lief, ohne daß es jemand verhindern konnte, ein paar Schritte am Bollwerk entlang, zwängte ihren Körper durch die Eisenstäbe der Barriere und stürzte sich mit dumpfem Schweigen in die Tiefe." (pp. 282–3)

[8] " Jenny Hoff, die Tochter des Kohlenschippers in den *Betrogenen,* habe ich von Stufe zu Stufe sinken gesehen. Ihr Vater arbeitete in einer Gasanstalt, der gegenüber ich wohnte. Mittags trug sie ihm das Essen zu, bis das große Berlin sie allmählich verschlang. Noch sehe ich den Alten, wie er ausging, sie zu suchen, und sie als Dirne wiederfand." " Meine Romane," *Magdeburgische Zeitung,* September 22, 1912.

"This good fellow Leo — he never took any other than box seats in the theater and always invited her to a champagne supper. Of course, he always asked her for something in return but, good Heavens, one might just as well give him what he wanted — that wasn't so bad as people thought. If you are a waitress and a gentleman friend takes you to the theater, and then takes you some place to eat and pays for it, you can be pretty sure that later on he will ask for a favor, and quite naturally, too. After all, you know, a girl ought to have as good a time as possible." [9]

If Lina represents the insipid, colorless animal, "die lange Tine" is the bestial harlot incarnate. Let Kretzer describe her:

"There was 'tall Tine' who was working at the same drum with Jenny. Tine was the daughter of a laborer from Rixdorf. At the age of fifteen, she had a still-born child. This girl was a regular frequenter in all the dancing halls of ill repute and knew men thoroughly. The conversations she had with the other girls, the way she talked even to the laborers — one had to actually hear it to appreciate it. Her mouth was a speaking sewer out of which issued sheer filth. One had only to annoy her to be besmirched with spoken filth. In the factory with her was a man who at night, after the day's work, acted as her procurer. When, as occasionally happened, Tine and he hurled jibes back and forth at each other, the older 'experienced' working women would split their sides with laughter. What lascivious movements, what ambiguous phrases!" [10]

[9] "Der gute Leo — er nahm nie andere Plätze als 'Loge' im Theater und gab immer ein Souper mit Sekt! Er verlangte zwar immer etwas dafür, aber du lieber Himmel, das konnte man ihm schon gestatten, das war nicht so schlimm, als man glaubte. Wenn man Kellnerin ist und läßt sich von einem Herrn ins Theater führen, der obendrein das Souper bezahlt, so weiß man ganz genau, daß dieser Herr nachher seine Wünsche hat, und findet das ganz natürlich. Man will sich doch so viel als möglich amüsieren." (p. 152)

[10] "Da war die lange Tine, die mit der Jenny an ein und derselben Trommel spannte. Sie war die Tochter eines Arbeitsmannes in Rixdorf und hatte mit fünfzehn Jahren bereits ein totes Kind zur

This was the girl who defeated the good offices of Maria in Jenny Hoff's behalf. It was her alluring pictures of the tinselled pleasures which offset the horror of the story Maria told.

There are many younger factory girls. Kretzer depicts them as a class: some are still valiantly fighting the insulting innuendoes of their older companions, some are resigned to take the first step, while others, still girls in their teens, already bear the mark of harlotry.

Finally, there is the type of woman who is neither a factory worker nor a waitress, but a professional prostitute. This is the demi-mondaine Alma, who in active co-operation with her worthy father, is able to establish herself as a " higher priced " prostitute. She is able to display, to the envy of the girls, the easy rewards of her easy virtue.

As with *Die beiden Genossen,* there is to be found in *Die Betrogenen* an implied moral judgment. In fact, the author would seem to be more intent upon disclosing his thesis than upon telling the story. Therefore, his reader never gets a complete illusion, for he must always feel that in spite of the naturalism of the characters, they answer ever as puppets to the strings of the preaching, pleading showman behind the scenes. The result of the implied moralizing is

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Welt gebracht. Die war Stammgast in allen Tanzspelunken und kannte die Männer aus dem ff. Was die mit den andern Mädchen für Reden führte, wie die sich selbst mit den Arbeitern unterhielt! Das mußte man nur hören! Ihr Mund war eine sprechende Kloake, aus der die Gemeinheit floß. Die brauchte man nur zu reizen, um sich mit gesprochenem Kot bewerfen zu lassen. Da war in der Fabrik ein Arbeitsmann, der des Abends nach Feierabend bei diesem Mädchen die Stelle eines Zuhälters vertrat. Wenn sich die Tine bei Gelegenheit mit ihm neckte, wollten sich die älteren 'gereiften' Arbeiterinnen ausschütten vor Lachen. Da konnte man Handgreiflichkeiten sehen, da konnte man zweideutige Redensarten hören! " (p. 220)

reflected in a deep fatalistic note throughout: by birth the girls of the proletariat are doomed to the streets; their only recourse in the unjust struggle is prostitution. That this is the author's thesis, can plainly be seen in following the treatment of Freigang, the artist. In this character, Kretzer develops his own mouthpiece. It is, therefore, of special interest to hear Freigang's remarks on the subject. At the very end, having met Maria Seidel and learning of her life, he "felt himself being attracted more and more to her through the knowledge that she was a girl of good family, and that now she was in the position of a menial worker only through a pardonable mistake and the circumstances of her environment." (p. 293)

She draws, then, upon Freigang's sympathy because of her bourgeois background. Her betrayal is incidental to her being dragged into the lower milieu. In fact, Kretzer expresses in the body of the text a clear pronouncement of this theory of morality:

"In Maria there awoke a consciousness of violated chastity, which in a well brought-up, well-mannered girl will always be different from that in a girl of the lower social strata." [11]

And her struggles begin only from the time when she is forced into these strata. Her illegitimate child is the pardonable mistake of a bourgeois indiscretion. But pardonable mistakes by no means constitute the essence of the novel. The Deceived are not, then, those of any class who by a single indiscretion lose their honor. On the contrary, the Deceived are the girls of the entire proletariat. And the conditions of the times and the milieu constitute their

[11] "In Maria erwachte jenes Bewußtsein einer Keuschheitsverletzung, das bei einem wohlerzogenen, gesitteten Mädchen immer anders sein wird, als bei einem in niedriger Sphäre aufgewachsenen." (p. 130)

doom. Even Leo Brendel, the bourgeois roué, dismisses with a serene gesture the consequences of his affair with Jenny Hoff: " . . . and if she becomes a prostitute — that is the eternal fate of the poor, deceived daughters of the common people." [12]

Yet there is an even deeper implication in the hopelessness of their lot. Freigang again makes the deduction. His friend Schlichting, an enthusiastic young painter of religious motifs, has fallen in love with Jenny. We may well imagine that in the hands of a romanticist the incipient love affair between the young painter and the working girl — the girl who had given him inspiration for his Madonna — might have resulted in a different ending. But our doctrinaire naturalist, in his post-adolescence, scoffs at this mésalliance and says:

" Freigang had never put much faith in this girl. He who had obtained a deeper insight into life, he who scrutinized men and circumstances through the powerful lens of a caustic realism — he might have prophesied to the painter of Madonnas that a marriage between him and the working girl would some day belong to those sad social phenomena which in the long run prove to be impossible. Such experiments (and, of course, Schlichting's intention he considered merely an experiment) bode nothing but evil. In theory, perhaps, they were very fine and bore excellent testimony to one's ideals, but in practice they were so much tinsel, the worthlessness of which one recognized only too soon. But the genre-painter was enough of a man of feeling to thoroughly understand Hannes' inmost self." [13]

[12] " . . . und wenn sie eine Dirne wird — das ist das ewige Schicksal der armen betrogenen Töchter aus dem Volke." (p. 145)

[13] " Freigang hatte diesem Mädchen nie so recht getraut. Er, der tiefere Einblicke in das Leben getan hatte, der Menschen und Verhältnisse durch das scharfe Glas des alles zersetzenden Realismus betrachtete, hätte dem Heiligenmaler prophezeien können, daß eine Ehe zwischen ihm und der Arbeiterin dereinst zu jenen trüben Erscheinungen des sozialen Lebens gehört hätte, die auf die Dauer

From this, we may suppose he could sympathize with the poor fellow. In other words, we have Kretzer, the avowed sympathizer with the poor, falling back under the ban of his early bourgeois surroundings. After fifteen years of poverty, he is still the aspiring son of a prosperous innkeeper. The picture is complete when Schott (described on page 11 as a "Social-Democrat of the purest type") philosophizes on a new function of the working man:

"Who in the world would marry such a girl on the spot who's already got a child by another man? After all, it's only the workmen who do it. That's all we are good for — that's what these gentlemen cut-throats think. But things will change some day when we get to the top, and when this bourgeois rabble, these aristocratic dogs . . ."[14]

In fact, these words of Schott's, along with another of his reflections, constitute the only answer which Kretzer makes to the problem he has raised. On page 219, Schott predicts that the girls of the proletariat will not become prostitutes when children are educated by the State.

Even though Kretzer has made a highly sensational exploitation of an undeniable evil in its most obvious ramifi-

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ein Unding sind. Derartige Experimente, denn ein bloßes Experiment schien ihm doch nur das Vorhaben Schlichtings, führten nie zu etwas Gutem. Sie nahmen sich in der Theorie ganz schön aus, sie gaben ein vortreffliches Zeugnis für die idealen Anschauungen eines Menschen, aber in der Praxis glichen sie bloßem Flittergold, dessen Unwert man nur zu bald erkannte; aber der Genremaler war Gefühlsmensch genug, um sich in Hannes Seelenleben vollständig hineinzudenken." (pp. 350–1)

[14] "Nimmt überhaupt gleich jeder so ein Mädchen, die schon ein Kind hat von einem andern? Zuletzt tut 's doch immer nur ein Arbeiter. Dazu seien wir gut genug, denken die Herren Ehrabschneider — aber 's wird doch noch mal anders werden in der Welt, wenn wir am Ruder sind und dieses Bourgeoisgesindel, diese aristokratischen Kanaillen . . ." (p. 52)

cations, and even though the reader's only possible reaction is that of unmitigated horror, the novel nevertheless contributes largely to the growing concept of naturalism.

We have, generally speaking, in *Die Betrogenen,* just as in *Die beiden Genossen,* new subject-matter introduced into German literature. Along with it, new types also appear. These types are not always particularly concerned with the problems, but are introduced, in some instances, as auxiliary expressions of it. Over against the prostitutes, Kretzer sets up, with great deliberation and detail, the line of roués. Rother and Brendel, the main male characters, are both roués. Rother, the black sheep of a highly respectable family, reforms, but with his wife's departure and subsequent divorce, we learn that he takes up anew his old habits. Kretzer would attribute this to his riches.[15] Leo Brendel, likewise, is drawn as a despicable rogue. His rôle in the plot fully substantiates this. Kretzer completes the picture with details such as Brendel's liking for obscene conversation (pp. 76–7). At twenty-two, Brendel's health has been broken by sexual dissipation and alcoholism (pp. 196–7).

In Leisemann, Alma's father, Kretzer has created one of those thoroughly vicious characters which are to overrun later naturalistic novels with their unspeakable baseness. Kretzer, with something of a mellow moral irony, paints him as half satyr, half philosopher, but a perfect knave. Although a salesman by profession, his main livelihood is gained from imposing upon young men and from his daughter's income. Under the guise of a genial companion he

[15] In the words of Rother: "Der reiche Mann kann spielen, verführen, er kann durch sein Geld sich alle Genüsse des Daseins verschaffen, und selbst wenn auch oft nicht auf ganz lauteren Wegen — der Kodex seiner Gesellschaftsphäre wird ihn von aller Schuld freisprechen. Das sind Handlungsweisen, die man einfach straflose Verbrechen nennt." (pp. 274–5)

cajoles the foolish sons of the wealthy into paying him handsomely for listening to his obscene stories and accepting his services.[16] He shows his adroitness, also, in acting as a procurer for his daughter, who is established in a palatial residence for the entertainment of only the most solvent. This arrangement, of course, doubles his income. The utterly uncompromising descriptions of Leisemann and Alma open a new field for the succeeding generation of naturalistic writers. The successors of this disreputable pair spring up far and wide in the works of the younger novelists of the metropolis.

A worthy counterpart of Leisemann is portrayed in Frau Sandkorn, the proprietress of the day-nursery. Her type here appears for the first time in German literature. Kretzer spares no effort to outline with minute care her vicious characteristics, and to picture her life in the baby-farm with her moron daughter as helper.

The stipend is eighteen marks a month for each baby, and Frau Sandkorn flies into a rage when the money is not paid. She intimates to each parent that she will either provide for the child or dispose of it discreetly — according to the mother's wishes. Kretzer describes in loathsome detail this wholesale infanticide (pp. 99–101). The illegitimate children of Maria, Franziska, Lina, and Alma, are entrusted to her care. Maria and Franziska make every effort to save their babies, while Lina and Alma consider it a blessing to have their children die so opportunely. Finally, Kretzer

[16] He recommends to them the establishments along the Leipziger Strasse (p. 24); the Skalitzer Strasse (p. 176); the Luisen, Französische, Landsberger Strasse (p. 186). Besides these streets, there are named such cafés as National, Venus, Falstaff (p. 146), and theaters as the Germania and the Americain (p. 40) or the Valhalla (p. 40). The *naming* of places is an innovation of Kretzer's and was faithfully copied by the later naturalists. See R. M. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 811–812.

outlines with great care the scene in which Maria has the Sandkorn woman arrested (pp. 294–302).

In the delineation of such scenes as the baby-farm, and in the creation of such a rogue as Leisemann, Kretzer displayed a literary candor heretofore unsuspected. Indeed, so earnest an attack on the social problem of prostitution — a problem which preceding novelists had carefully avoided — speaks for itself as a testimony to Kretzer's courage.

In addition to this new subject-matter, *Die Betrogenen* reveals the beginning of a new style. Up to this juncture, the outstanding element in this style has been the construction of the dialogues. Kretzer is able to capture the idiom of the Berlin prostitute and the workman. This accurate transliteration has reached no consistent level, and for that matter, throughout Kretzer's later work, it never achieves the promise of *Die Betrogenen.* Richard M. Meyer has aptly called his dialogue-forms "bookish German" [17] — a most deprecatory criticism for an alleged naturalist. Yet in three passages (pp. 19, 42, 221–2), Kretzer's success is comparable to the extraordinary effects of Gerhart Hauptmann in *Der Biberpelz* or of Holz and Schlaf in *Die Familie Selicke.* The following will illustrate the unblushing use of Berlin slang:

"Aber sag' mal, Mädel," begann die lange Tine eines Vormittags bei der Arbeit wieder, "wofür quälste dir denn ejentlich? Um dir vielleicht de Schwindsucht an 'nen Hals zu arbeeten und nischt vom Leben zu haben? Is mir so 'n Blak schon vorjekommen! Verhauen müßte man dir. Zu was sind denn de Männer da, wenn man sich nicht mit ihnen amüsieren soll? Es ist ja wahr: die Bande läßt eenen in der Regel in de Patsche sitzen — dafür muß man sie ooch beizeiten hochnehmen. Daß sie die Motten kriegen! . . . Bist du dumm! Glaubste vielleicht, 's wird dir 'n anderer heiraten, als 'n Arbeeter? Da biste schief

[17] Richard M. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 801.

jewickelt. Den bekommt man noch früh genug, um mit Kind und Essen nach de Fabrik zu buckeln oder selbst wieder des Morjens mit de Schmalzstullen loszuziehen. So blau! Da muß man sich beizeiten amüsieren. Was schadet 'n ooch so 'n bißken Liebe? Det is 's eenzige Verjniejen, was wir Armen haben. Sollt'st nur wissen, wie's die vornehmen Frauen treiben — da erfährt man's natürlich nicht aber ick sage dir, die verstehen's . . . Also immer rin ins Verjniejen, und sei keen Affe! Wenn ick so jung wär' wie du . . . ! Haste denn noch nich bemerkt, wie der Brendel sich nach dir hat? Der ist ja reene verrückt und möcht' dir am liebsten uffressen mit de Oogen, wenn er vorbeijeht. 'n janz netter Esel — den würd' ick mir halten in deine Stelle. Der hat Jeld, da lernste Berlin bald kennen." (pp. 221–2)

In the second place, *Die Betrogenen* develops the technique of character delineation. This is brought out most clearly in the characterization of Jenny Hoff. With his original sympathy for her, Kretzer effects a more skilful psychological development of her character than of any of his previous creations. This is enhanced by a careful analysis of her appearance whenever she participates in the action. She is first described on page 14 and again on pages 204–206, 237–239, but throughout, we feel that Kretzer is expending more effort on this character and achieving more satisfactory results than with any of his other characters. The fact that he expressly states he drew Jenny's character from actual observation (cf. p. 40, footnote 8) is, in itself, a proof of his growing naturalistic technique. The question arises whether or not Kretzer himself was conscious of this new technique. The answer again comes from Freigang, Kretzer's mouthpiece. Freigang is described as a follower of Menzel and a reference is made to the latter's *Moderne Cyklopen* — the painting which portrays the proletariat in the iron foundry (p. 4).[18] It is further noted that

[18] The painting was finished in 1875, and was hailed as one of the first important works in the new era of art. This reference clearly indicates that Kretzer, speaking through Freigang, wished to be con-

Freigang began his work as a painter of " Salonszenen " — polite society (p. 4). Now, however, Freigang's paintings depict the streets, the saloons, the factories — any scene where the blue blouse of the workman dominates. " There was a certain something in these paintings," says the author, " which bore the stamp of our great age, of the life of hard work, of the struggle of the Fourth Estate for social equality " (p. 88).

It has also been pointed out that Freigang saw life more clearly than his fellows " through the powerful lens of a caustic realism " (cf. above, p. 44). " Whenever he saw the weather-beaten face of a man of the Fourth Estate, who could claim any distinguished feature, he dragged him into his studio as a model " (p. 4). This is the artist who, although scoffing at the proposed marriage between the bourgeois painter and the working girl, " had a foible for the blue blouse of the workman " (p. 4). This is the artist Kretzer.

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sidered one of the first writers who looked to the new industry and to the new type of factory-worker for their literary material.

CHAPTER V

A NOVEL OF THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT: DIE VERKOMMENEN

In his next novel, *Die Verkommenen,* published the following year, Kretzer again addresses himself to the problem of the futile struggle for existence waged by the industrial proletariat. But in this novel no particular issue arising from the struggle, such as prostitution, holds his full attention. Rather, he combines the more obvious forces in this proletarian society and watches them drag the family of Merk to the lowest depths of degradation. Merk epitomizes the proletariat, and his fall symbolizes the unenviable story of his class. Prostitution still remains as the inevitable fate of the women — his daughter helplessly succumbs to it. But along with prostitution we find also drunkenness, unemployment, the general demoralizing conditions of a sordid environment, while the birds of prey, the exploiters of the class, swoop down from above or tear to pieces from within.

Actually, however, the story of *Die Verkommenen* is an interweaving of four themes [1] and has the distracting quality of a poorly composed fugue. Yet each sub-plot comes to the same conclusion: the submergence — *das Verkommen* —

[1] The lives of the Merk family, Oskar Schwarz, Sängerkrug, and Rosa Jakob, though interrelated, are still traced to their separate and independent conclusions. Any one of these fates would have amply sufficed for the structure of a single story.

of the individual. A broad outline of the main story, the vicissitudes of the Merk family, will make this apparent.

As the story opens, Merk, an iron worker, has been laid off because of business depression. His efforts toward any sort of employment are unavailing, and with the diminution of his slender resources, the family is forced to take refuge in a wretched tenement. Against his wishes, his wife accepts work in a factory while he continues to seek a place for himself. Discouraged, he is lured by some companions to take a few drinks. During his absence, his baby burns to death and he is put into prison for a month because of his negligence. Upon his return, he finds work and, in his joy, accepts another offer to drink. In a saloon fight he kills an insulting companion. He goes to prison again, this time for two years. During his imprisonment, Frau Merk is thrown upon her slender resources with a family of three children. The eldest daughter, Magda, falls a victim to the enticement of night work in cafés, with the result that she is raped while drunk. She subsequently becomes the mistress of a wealthy Jew, Rosenstiel, displacing the daughter of the man her father had slain. In a jealous fury, the forsaken mistress persuades an admirer to throw vitriol into Rosenstiel's and Magda's faces.

This happens a few days before Christmas, at the time when Merk is released from his imprisonment. He returns to his home to find his family starving, and in desperation, rushes out into the street and snatches the purse of a passer-by. He is apprehended, and taken to the police station, where he finds his daughter, who is being held as witness to her rival's felony. Merk tries to strangle her, but is restrained and led off to prison.

Magda returns to live the life of harlot and mistress to her sweetheart of former days, Oskar Schwarz, a defrauded proletarian writer. In utter hopelessness, they finally

drown themselves. Frau Merk and her other children have, in the meantime, been lost in the labyrinth of the milieu and the story.

The motivation, as can be seen, is of the simplest: the reader's credulity is exercised but slightly. Whatever coincidences Kretzer introduces are perfectly plausible. The result of this is that throughout the action, a tragic sense of inevitability pervades; nor do the effects seem unduly exaggerated in the light of their causes.

Essentially, the setting of *Die Verkommenen* is the setting of *Die Betrogenen,* so that the preceding analysis of this novel revealing Kretzer's exposure of the slums, the cafés and their vicious denizens, is a study of the background of *Die Verkommenen* also. Yet, aside from subject-matter and aside from setting, the novel makes one unique contribution to the succeeding genre of naturalism. This contribution is the representation of the seething population of Berlin's pauper-quarter, Wedding. Up to this time, a paucity of passers-by and of onlookers had made Kretzer's characters move on a background of crowded but unvisualized puppets — pass, as it were, through densely populated ether. No matter how many or how real the main characters, the mobs always seemed painted upon a back drop. In *Die Verkommenen,* however, the mob can be resolved into individuals: the moving figures of struggling human beings give to the scenes an animation which had hitherto been lacking.

Into the circle of Leisemann and Frau Sandkorn, others enter. Perhaps these late comers do not possess the utter baseness of that pair, but what they lack in quality is compensated for by their numbers. Saloon-keepers, pawn-brokers, tax-collectors, and literary agents of a mercenary type, join the procession of panderers and prostitutes. Aristocratic army-officers and flower girls, fe-

male procurers and newspaper critics, help to complete Berlin's Vanity Fair. These are the human quicksands through which the submerged, *die Verkommenen,* sink to asphyxiation.

If any character in the work is comparable to Leisemann, it is Zipfel, the " Budiker," or saloon-keeper from the lowest order of dive. A penetrating irony was necessary in order to capture the eel-like personality of this shrewd rascal. He belongs to the foul-smelling basement-saloon which Kretzer faithfully describes. His mock philanthropy, which he has a further opportunity to display through his other occupation as rent collector in the tenement, serves as a trap for his many unwary victims. The " Schlafburschen " who form a large portion of his clientele are fitting decorations for the dingy walls of his saloon. These men, appearing for the first time in a German novel, reflect an economic phenomenon which accompanied the relentless spread of industrialism. Journeymen of the factory system, they are dependent mostly upon chance labor for their meagre living. Their ridiculously small wages prevent their ever establishing themselves in even the poorest sort of home. As a result, they hire mattress space or floor space in the crowded flats of the tenements. Here they sleep, in night and day relays, eight or ten in the same room, soaking themselves with intoxicants in the disreputable basement saloons. They are the floating population of the industrialized city. They entice their hardly more fortunate landlord to drink, they ruin his daughters; they are able allies of the Zipfels, helpful friends of the brothel-keepers, running sores on the social organism. The " Schlafburschen " quartered in Merk's neighborhood tempt him to join them in their debaucheries. It is Kaulmann, one of their number, detested and spurned by Rosa Jakob, who throws the acid into Magda Merk's face.

The prostitutes of *Die Verkommenen* are again the victimized daughters of the proletariat. Rosa Jakob was exposed at an early age to the degrading influence of the streets, to the companionship of filthy-mouthed boys. Her father a drunkard, her mother a factory worker who is hardly ever at home, the little girl runs wild, unhindered. At thirteen, she comes under the influence of Frau Knabe and learns of the life of harlotry. In Frau Knabe, Kretzer has again drawn a worthy companion for Leisemann and Frau Sandkorn. The old hag, a former infamous prostitute, employs young girls to sell matches and roses in night cafés. Most of her gains accrue from surreptitious bargains with the patrons for her girls. Hedwig, her daughter, has learned prostitution from her and teaches it in turn to others. Magda Merk is snared by the Knabe woman and at fifteen her path starts downward.

Although not new to the pages of German literature, the Berlin Jews are depicted here in slightly different guise than they had worn in previous fiction. It is a most detailed and merciless treatment which Kretzer gives them. Their characteristic loan enterprises, symbolized by the pawnshop which gradually becomes the repository for all the Merk belongings, appear for the first time in *Die Verkommenen.* In a further scene, Kretzer would seem to align himself with anti-Semitism in creating another Jewish character, Simon Baruch, who refuses to give to Oskar Schwarz the wages due his mother. The Jew wrathfully orders the young workman out of the room for disturbing him at meal time. His sneers and vituperation characterize his brutal selfishness. But Kretzer, lest he appear partisan perhaps, has two less important Jewish characters speak in more dulcet tones. Frau Rosalie Sirach, the widowed mother of an aspiring violinist, mouths the platitudes of a superficial toleration. She it was " who felt herself one with the great army of the poor and

oppressed, with those who, in their daily struggle for existence, have no time to differentiate between the various religions" (p. 120), while her son, after forgiving a serious insult and after keeping his ideals unimpaired, sums up the matter by the discovery that there are Jewish Christians as well as Christian Jews; for after all, religion has nothing to do with character (pp. 324 ff.).

The novelist of the proletariat has now considerably broadened his social horizon. He sees that the upper classes are at least extant in the universe, and he invites them on a slumming trip to the world he knows so well. When Kretzer attempts, however, to write of a milieu above that of the proletariat, his success, due to unfamiliarity with the field, is limited. This is seen in his characterization of the aristocratic figures in *Die Verkommenen*. When Egon von Rollerfelde and Paul von dem Bache, young aristocrats, come down to the Leipziger Strasse, the "powerful lens of a caustic realism" [2] turns out to be defective (pp. 282 ff.).

In a particularly interesting major digression, which constitutes a large part of the novel, Kretzer spares no efforts to expose the exploitation of writer and reader in the hands of unscrupulous publishers. Oskar Schwarz started work in the book firm of Rentel, one of those disreputable publishers who live by exploiting half-starved writers. As he shows an aptitude for writing, Schwarz is turned over to the hack-writer Dagobert Fisch. "Doctor" D. Fisch is the pen name of this dime-novel machine. From his facile pen come pouring the ten pfennig installments, telling of the wealthy villain and the beautiful ruined heroine. After suffering a rigid examination by the director of the publishing firm — a wise precaution, since Fisch once killed the same hero in two successive installments — the printed

[2] Cf. above, p. 44.

sheets go into the hands of the factory girls and the other tenement dwellers, who through this, their only peep-hole out of their sordid lives, gain a perverted view of the world beyond them. Kretzer is at great pains to expose this sensationalism, although ironically enough his own titles and captions reflect the hectic language of the penny-dreadful.[3] At the same time, his picture of the proletariat is enlarged by such additions as Dagobert Fisch, a confirmed dipsomaniac, and Oskar Schwarz, who is robbed of his literary efforts. Rentel's friend, Joachimsthal, has entered upon a contract to the effect that his wife, who shows incipient yearnings for belles-lettres, shall complete a series of dime-novels. Her love affair with the banker, Salo Freystätter, however, is so pressing that she is unable to continue this work, so Oskar is told to finish it. In a conversation with Joachimsthal, he mentions that he is in possession of the newly finished manuscript of a drama. Joachimsthal asks to see it, promising to help Schwarz publish it. Instead, he steals the plot verbatim, merely changing the title and the names of the *dramatis personae,* and produces the play in his wife's name. When Oskar remonstrates on the opening night he is ejected as a madman.

The première of the plagiarized drama gives Kretzer an opportunity for a bitter attack on the guild of dramatic critics, which he enthusiastically accepts. A group of these

[3] It is interesting, in this respect, to examine the chapter headings of *Die Betrogenen,* for example: "Die alte Geschichte," "Weibliche Bedienung," "Des Lebens Grausamkeit," "Zu den Engeln," "Räche dich!" Even *Meister Timpe* has these garish decorations: "Erst mein Chef, dann ich!" "Franz bekennt Farbe," "Ein entarteter Sohn." It is also of interest to point out that Kretzer changed his colorless *Waldemar Tempel* (1911) to the more startling *In Frack und Arbeitsbluse* (1921). Furthermore, the jackets of the more recent editions of Kretzer's novels and short stories resemble in some cases posters of cinemas.

gentry is reviled and excoriated by a courageous and vigorous, if indiscreet, pen.

"There one sees those faces adorned with the inevitable golden *pince-nez* — faces upon which one would like to leave a permanent impression of one's hand, faces upon which there is fixed an eternal smirk of arrogance and cynicism; people who have never experienced the exciting activity of individual literary production, who conceal their intellectual impotence beneath cheap phrases and who, in their effort to appear witty, scarcely surpass the wit of a cab driver. They are hack-writers in the true sense of the word, conscious slanderers of the sacred faith of honest, upward-striving authors; mercenary souls who, for the sake of a despicable clique-spirit, forcibly suffocate all feeling for truth and thereby drag their self-respect through the mire. Such are the men who are the great Lessings of our days! Hardly have they entered the orchestra when, standing up, they turn their backs to the stage and begin to inspect the loges and balconies through their opera glasses. And each broad smile and each glance voices the silent impertinence: 'Look here, look at me, I am the great critic X, before whose dreaded pen all authors tremble.'" [4]

[4] "Da sieht man jene mit dem unvermeidlichen goldenen Pincenez geschmückten, zum Abdruck der fünf Finger einladenden Gesichter, auf denen das ewige, aus Arroganz und Zynismus zusammengesetzte Lächeln bleibend ist, Leute, die nie die aufregende Tätigkeit eigener literarischer Produktivität empfunden haben, die die geistige Impotenz unter der wohlfeilen Phrase verbergen und beim Geistreichsein-wollen nie über den Droschkenkutscherwitz hinauskommen; Soldschreiber in des Wortes bester Bedeutung, bewußte Schänder des heiligen Glaubens ehrlich strebender Naturen; käufliche Seelen, die um elenden Cliquengeistes willen die Empfindung der Wahrheit mit Gewalt ersticken, um dadurch ihre Manneswürde in den Kot zu zerren. Das sind die großen Lessinghelden unserer Tage! Kaum haben sie das Parkett betreten, so wenden sie, stehend, der Bühne ihren Rücken und beginnen durch ihr Glas die Logen und Ränge zu mustern. Und aus jedem breiten Lächeln, aus jedem Blick spricht die stumme Unverschämtheit: 'Seht hierher, seht mich an, ich bin der große Kritiker X, vor dessen gefürchteter Feder alle Autoren zittern.'" (pp. 373–4)

Of course, Merk and his family are described in exhaustive detail. Magda, like Jenny Hoff, is photographed at every stage of her downward path. But rather than describe, as the result of two separate techniques, people and scenes, the author in handling Merk makes an obvious effort to combine these tasks into one, so that Merk and his family with their setting are fused into a compact and inseparable unity of sordid misery. The care taken to describe the petty details of life in the tenement house in which they live is here amply repaid. The noise, the ragged children, the fighting or gossiping neighbors, and the steady stream in and out of Zipfel's saloon, give a semblance of congruity to the family's condition (pp. 37–41). It is a triumph of milieu description. When he leads us into the streets below, Kretzer again labors diligently to catch details which could be observed only by the most keen-sighted, but which in themselves contain the essence of the scene.[5] He heightens the effect by a drastic contrast wherein he sets off against the Wedding quarter the Potsdamer Strasse, a symbol of the boulevard of aristocracy. In a very complete review of the people promenading through this handsome street, he points out the scarcity of the " blue blouse " (p. 112). The interior of the cafés give Kretzer another opportunity to satisfy his passion for detail (pp. 131, 161, 162, 166). But it is in Zipfel's saloon in the basement of Merk's tenement that this new technique culminates. Through seventeen pages (pp. 90–107) the author pours out details that betray a gift of observation which nothing escapes. An example will indicate in what measure Kretzer's naturalistic technique, at this stage of its development, is able to create an illusion:

" In Zipfel's basement-saloon, at this hour, things were going along merrily. It was a Monday, they had knocked off work early,

[5] Long passages describing street scenes are to be found on pp. 6–9, 77–8, 108–113, 281–2.

and had just money enough in their pockets to wet their whistles. . . . Gradually, a boisterous, whiskey-soaked atmosphere pervaded the low-ceiled room, which with its wild confusion of shouting and quarrelling voices harmonized admirably with the foul air of the dive where the smoke of tobacco hung on the ceiling like a dense cloud, and through its mist gave the light of the solitary gas jet in the center of the room just enough brilliance to enable one to see dirty blouses, smashed-in hats, caps cocked at an angle, and arms sprawling over the tables." [6]

It has already been mentioned that in *Die Verkommenen,* Kretzer has considerably broadened his outlook on proletarian life (cf. above, p. 56). There remains a brief summary of what the factors are which Kretzer introduces in this novel to complete his picture of the urban proletariat.

Prostitution, a minor motif in *Die beiden Genossen* and the central problem in *Die Betrogenen,* also appears in *Die Verkommenen.* In this novel, Kretzer again considers first the obvious influence of the environment on this evil (p. 34). Such companions as the hunchback Lucca, with her lascivious talk, are bound to drag Magda to the streets. Through her contact with factory girls (pp. 219 ff.), this demoralization will be substantially furthered. A new aspect of prostitution, however, is afforded by the illicit re-

[6] "Bei Zipfel unten ging es um diese Zeit bereits wieder lustig zu. Es war Montag, man hatte zeitig Feierabend gemacht und noch so viel Geld in der Tasche, um einen hinter die Binde zu gießen. . . . Nach und nach griff in dem niedrigen Raum eine überlaute, schnapsselige Stimmung um sich, die mit ihrem wirren Durcheinander von schreienden und streitenden Stimmen vortrefflich zu der Stickluft dieser Kneipe paßte, wo der Tabakqualm wie eine dichte Wolke an der Decke lagerte und durch seinen Nebel dem Licht der einzigen Gasflamme in der Mitte gerade noch Leuchtkraft genug gab, um die schmutzigen Blusen, die eingedrückten Hüte, aufs Ohr gesetzten Mützen und auf den Tisch gestützten Arme voneinander unterscheiden zu können." (p. 90 f.)

lationship between Selma Joachimsthal and the banker Freystätter, representatives of the upper strata. But generally speaking, Kretzer expresses in *Die Verkommenen* the same situation as before (cf. above, pp. 43 ff.):

"This is the eternal curse of the woman of the lower classes: she is doubly without protection because she is poor. Money heals wounds; money wipes out moral blemishes. Money lends respectability even to a fallen woman if she be of the upper classes . . . and makes a goddess of Chastity even out of a Phryne. . . . Poverty alone can not afford to be hypocritical." [7]

Yet, while prostitution is held responsible, to a large measure, for the moral and economic decay of Kretzer's proletariat, it is no longer the only important issue, as in the case of *Die Betrogenen.* In *Die Verkommenen,* the life of the proletariat is especially jeopardized by the forces of alcohol. Although by no means a tippler, Merk, the few times he drinks, suffers terribly for his indulgence. The first time, his baby is burned to death (pp. 68 ff.). During a later indulgence, he slays Jakob (pp. 97), and before stealing the purse he had been drinking again (p. 415). The evil of drinking is reflected, also, in the filled cafés, dance-halls, "Weinstuben" and "Budiken," which occupy every corner and every cellar of Kretzer's Wedding quarter. Finally, there are those hazards beyond individual control, such as the unemployment following the "Gründerjahre" (p. 2),[8] which add to the perils of the workman's precarious situation. Merk reviews the case for the proletariat in

[7] "Das ist der ewige Fluch des Weibes der niederen Stände: daß es doppelt schutzlos, weil es arm ist. Geld heilt Wunden, Geld macht sittlich makellos. Geld macht selbst das gefallene Weib der besseren Gesellschaft noch zu einer Respektsperson . . . und macht aus Phryne eine Keuschheitsgöttin. . . . Nur die Armut darf nicht heucheln." (p. 275)

[8] Cf. above, p. 22, footnote 1.

a highly emotional harangue, delivered before Zipfel's choicest customers. Here, he simply summarizes Kretzer's ideas of the situation of the friendless proletariat: continued unemployment in the face of a futile search for work; children who must be fed; long, monotonous hours of work (when lucky enough to be working); a pitiful share in the product of toil; the constant threat of dismissal; the rottenness of the environment.

"But that's the way things are! Work, work, work, all our lives for a few cents! Living from hand to mouth, that's our fate. We can't think of saving a few pennies. We marry in order to settle down and stop loafing in dives. We have children and then struggle doubly hard, even after the day's labor is over, to make things run smoothly. We get up at five o'clock and work like machines for twelve hours at a stretch till we are worn to a shadow. Just listen to me! I have run my heels down looking for work; but just try and get it after the panic! I couldn't sleep at night because I didn't want to oversleep in order that I might be the first to look through the ads in the morning papers. I left home on an empty stomach, and I shivered in the icy weather just so as to be there on time. All, all for nothing! One thing after another went to the pawnshop. And while I wasn't home and my wife was in the factory, my child had to burn to death — to death, I say!"[9]

[9] "Aber es ist so! Schinden, plagen müssen wir uns zeitlebens für wenige Groschen. Aus der Hand in den Mund leben, das ist unsere Parole. Ans Sparen kann da nie gedacht werden. Wir nehmen uns ein Weib, um unsere Ordnung zu haben, damit wir uns nicht mehr in allen Spelunken umherzutreiben brauchen. Wir bekommen Kinder und arbeiten nun doppelt, quälen uns nach Feierabend, damit alles nach dem rechten gehe. Morgens um fünf Uhr stehen wir auf und arbeiten wie eine Maschine zwölf Stunden hintereinander, daß uns der Atem ausgeht. . . . O hört nur weiter, ich habe mir die Beine abgelaufen nach Arbeit, aber bekommt nur welche nach dem Krach! Ich habe nachts nicht ruhen können, um morgens nicht die Zeit zu verschlafen, damit ich der erste bei den Zeitungen war. Ohne Kaffee

In the preceding chapter, we have noted several instances of Kretzer's success in reproducing the idiom of the Berlin prostitute and workman (cf. above, pp. 45, 48, 49). He continues to employ this technique — though not consistently — in *Die Verkommenen.* For example, von Rollerfelde, a young lieutenant, speaks in the jerky manner of the Prussian officer (pp. 282 ff.). This affectation of speech is imitated by Rosenstiel (p. 177). Simon Baruch's Jewish German, with its peculiar word-order, bears all the earmarks of that idiom (pp. 320–1). Kretzer's most successful effort, however, is the reproduction of the dialogue of two Berlin "toughs" in the gallery of the theater. With a whiskey bottle between them, with high society below them, they enjoy their company in a convincing manner:

"Rechts und links von ihm saßen ein paar Arbeiter, die heute ein Fünfzigpfennigstück geopfert hatten, um von der Kunst etwas zu profitieren. Das waren geriebene Berliner Jungen, die dafür sorgten, daß man aus dem Lachen nicht herauskam. Das 'Aujust' und 'Ede' flog von einem zum anderen. 'Sieh doch mal die da drüben mit die Lonjette, wie sie sich dicke tut, wie 'ne Schlächtermamsell, und der neben ihr, mit de joldene Bommel an de nei jestärkte — jrade wie der Fatzke von Marokko. Ede, lang mir mal die Pulle her, ick muß mir stärken uff den Schreck. Det nächste Mal nehmen wir ooch Loje und spielen die Dummen, als könnten wir nicht bis drei zählen.' Und 'Ede' erwiderte: 'Aujust, drink nich zu ville, sonst find'st de nachher die Treppe nich, wenn hier 'n Krach ausbrechen sollte von wejen det Feuer. Und nu paß uff, der kommt jleich mit de Vijeline und wird uns was vorjeijen. . . .'" (pp. 379–380)

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bin ich weggegangen, fröstelnd bei eisiger Kälte, nur um am Platze zu sein. Alles, alles vergebens. Ein Stück nach dem andern mußte versetzt werden. Und während ich nicht zu Hause war, mein Weib in der Fabrik, mußte mein Kind verbrennen, verbrennen sage ich!" (pp. 101–102)

It is worth while to pause here and briefly review the first three novels of Kretzer. In them the young author has stated his thesis and has made a notable contribution toward the rise of a new literary generation. This contribution, as has been pointed out, shows strikingly original features both in subject-matter and technique. While both must be considered in an analysis of the naturalistic style as Kretzer developed it, it is clear from the foregoing discussion that the technique of presentation was an outgrowth of his peculiar choice of theme, and it is in the latter that his chief claim to originality lies. Still, if we apply to his technique the severe test of the later " konsequenter Naturalismus," we find a few but very significant examples to prove his leadership even in this direction: it is the truly " naturalistic " handling of the dialogue.[10]

[10] This statement contradicts Eduard Engel's hostile criticism of Kretzer's style, viz., " Man hätte aber schon in jenen Romanen (Kretzer's first three novels) die Hauptschwäche Kretzers erkennen sollen: seine Unfähigkeit, Menschen aus den ärmeren Klassen, also gerade die ihm bekanntesten, mit einiger Lebensechtheit sprechen zu lassen." *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

CHAPTER VI

A NOVEL OF ÉLITE SOCIETY: DREI WEIBER

Drei Weiber appeared in 1886, a year after Bleibtreu's interesting announcement of the new literary era. Yet a cursory examination of the novel shows that it definitely harks back to the generation lately defunct. On its face, it seems realism and nothing else, save an indication of what realism can degenerate into: shallow sensationalism.

Ostensibly the author has set out to expose "high society" — a venture worthy of any doctrinaire naturalist. He tells us more of this in retrospect; in the preface to the fifth edition (1910), we read that though the characters typify the socially elect in general, the author for the sake of veracity, has drawn the characters from life — from life along Berlin's Potsdamer Strasse.[1]

[1] In the preface to the fifth reprint of *Drei Weiber* (pp. 5–8), Kretzer writes: "Several critics have called the novel a *Schlüsselroman.*" Not denying that he portrays here people who have actually lived, he continues: "but I have used the models only in so far as they seemed to me to retain the *typical* in them." (The italics are Kretzer's.) To complete his apology, he then cites Dickens' controversy with Leigh Hunt concerning the right of an author to portray living people.

This statement of Kretzer's contradicts his practice. Very early in his career he realized that close observation of a living person would supply numerous details which imagination might fail to produce. This is best illustrated in the character of Jenny Hoff in *Die Betrogenen,* whom, he tells us, he copied from life, "tracing her downward path step by step" (see above, p. 40). It is to be remembered, however, that Jenny Hoff stands for a whole class of proletarian

But because social Berlin of the eighties seems to have enjoyed a culture foreign to his training, Kretzer is rather lost when he attempts to delineate it. One may well ask why he set himself this task in the first place. Was it because he felt that with the production of *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen* he had exhausted the subject-matter of his choice? Or did he, perhaps, want to escape the proletarian milieu for the time being, and to elaborate on the new aspect of prostitution he had just discovered (cf. above, pp. 60 f.)? While he may have been influenced by such impulses, it is probable that he was chiefly actuated by economic considerations. He would then be merely following the example of his own young writer in *Die Verkommenen,* who in time "becomes a very practical sort of man and, generally speaking, begins to interpret publishing houses as department stores which degrade the highly lauded muse into a milch cow. He gradually yields to the pressure of humdrum existence and becomes an exceedingly reasonable and sensible man, realizing how patient paper is!"[2] But just as Kretzer has been his own teacher, so it would seem he has been his own prophet. *Drei Weiber* represents the sort of novel his imagined "hack" would produce.

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girls, i.e., she represents a "type." In this delineation, at least, Kretzer has done more than merely "retain the typical." It is for this reason that the character of Jenny Hoff meets the demands of the naturalistic "Schlüsselroman." These demands can be summed up as the *individualizing of the type.* (Cf. above, p. 9)

[2] "Mit der Zeit passiert es denn, daß der besagte geldverachtende Dichter ein ganz praktischer Mensch wird und im allgemeinen jetzt in dem Worte Verlagsbuchhandlung die Bedeutung eines Warenhauses erblickt, in dem die hochgepriesene Muse zur melkenden Kuh wird. Etwas von der Prosa des Lebens geht dann auch auf ihn über: Er wird ein höchst vernünftiger und verständiger Mann, der da weiß, wie geduldig das Papier ist." (*Die Verkommenen,* p. 247)

Under these circumstances it seems difficult to imagine how a book written with a second-hand knowledge of its subject could hope to be even realistic. The answer lies in the fact that what little the author knew and a great deal which he did not know and for which he had to rely on a badly informed imagination, are developed in a realistic and, in certain instances, naturalistic manner. Though the contents of the book may deserve to be ignored, the method itself remains of interest to the student of naturalistic Germany.

Little need be said of the story, other than that it is made up of the complications arising from one man's capturing the affections of three closely related women. Frau Frieda von Setzen, the young widow of a wealthy privy councillor, her stepdaughter, Fräulein Fanny von Setzen and their servant-girl, Olga Braun, vie with one another for the manly favors of a bankrupt roué, Neukirch. The novel is abruptly episodic rather than continuously narrative, being composed for the most part of three sumptuous meals, two club meetings, and five illicit trysts. Into these gatherings, Kretzer marches his curiously conceived creatures, makes them sit down, plot, talk, insult each other, or debauch themselves. From these scenes it is intended that the reader shall obtain an intimate knowledge of high society.

But the interest of the study lies not in the vicissitudes of certain shallow aristocrats, nor in the daring or the virtues to be imputed to an author who exposes these. On the contrary, it lies rather in a technique by which the author spends forty pages in describing a betrothal feast and then wanders on for many pages more to follow four of the guests, at two o'clock in the morning, to their homes. Then again, the description of the disastrous effects of over-eating and over-drinking, set down in naïve detail, makes one pause before an innovation.

It is now evident that there are certain things one can look for, and always be sure of finding, in every new novel of Kretzer's first literary period. There is Social-Democratic propaganda, with promises of a greater justice and higher morality under the new régime. In *Drei Weiber* there is, of course, the omnipresent Social-Democratic agitator. Braun, the proletarian, the father of Olga, stands out as the dispenser of a rough but even-handed justice. It is he who breaks up the fight between the bullying "Korpsstudent" and the two Jewish students, while a crowd of aristocrats, prostitutes, panderers and mere spectators watch the sight (pp. 109–115). In each work of this period there will also be a restatement of the issue of prostitution, with its presentation of the inevitable fate of proletarian women. In *Drei Weiber,* where he studies more intently the vice of lust among the people of the upper classes, there is no determinant cause other than the licentious natures of the people themselves. Despite all the benefits of wealth and tradition, the elect are so essentially rotten that they make for themselves an end similar to that which their social inferiors can not hope to escape. There will also be in Kretzer a studied realism of locale. He wishes the Berlin of his novel to ring true for those who know the capital's highways and byways. Logically enough, he hopes to capture interest through an emphasis upon the byways. In this respect, one may expect to find in his novels references to well-known cafés and restaurants. Much of the motivation of the *Drei Weiber* is revealed through conversations in the "Café National." And lastly, one finds in this novel also, as in the others of this period, the thesis and usually, also, the antithesis of some current social philosophy. When one man enslaves the hearts of three beautiful women to the envy of his fellows and the awe of other ladies, it may be supposed that the conversation will concern itself pri-

marily with the nature of women. Neukirch's attitude has, indeed, a trenchant character new with Kretzer.

Probably, as has been hinted above, the most important development of our novelist's naturalistic technique is the forty-page account of a dinner (pp. 41–81). Here Kretzer takes the opportunity to describe the characters around whose lives the story revolves. With utter disregard for proportion, he chooses to go on and on until he feels sure that the attentive reader of the passage will be able to foresee every movement of each member of the select company. The dinner is described from the *hors d'œuvres* to the coffee in the drawing-room. Every sturdy witticism of these well-fed bourgeois aristocrats is zealously salvaged for posterity. Every grimace, due usually to indigestion, is recorded. For example, we learn that one of the diners gorges himself to the point of perspiration. When Olga appears from the pantry, the gentlemen enter into a cheerful series of wagers over her ultimate career. In the meantime, the rest of the conversation devotes itself to slandering the first neighbor out of earshot or casting innuendoes at the wife of a friend.

Following the dinner, which ends with the sordid effects of over-indulgence of the guests' appetites, Kretzer takes leave of the hostess with four of the guests and goes with them to the Friedrichstrasse. Night life as seen by young aristocrats on a spree, passes before us. It is the same night life the actual character of which had been unfolded in *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen.* It is now watched as a pageant rather than experienced as a disease.

Street-walkers and their procurers accost gentlemen at every corner. As it grows late, well after the hour when all the easy ladies should be off the avenues, but while they are still plying their trade utterly oblivious to the statutes of the police, there comes a silence, then a scurrying in all

directions. The "Sittenpolizei," the vice squad, arrives: there is a raid. With cries of warning, the night birds fly off while the gentlemen stand by watching, aloof and amused. The fight which is broken up by a workman going to his factory, next holds our attention (pp. 112–115). It is described with an attention to detail which would be creditable to a boxing expert.

The night is finished by a retreat to the "Café National," where one is afforded the opportunity to study minutely the tricks of the demi-mondaines, as they successfully lure two of the gentlemen of the party to their rooms (pp. 116–118).

Again in his description of a family dinner, Kretzer is prodigal in his use of space. The tableau leaves little to the imagination (pp. 161–168). Further illustrations of the naturalistic technique are to be found in the description of the personnel assembled at two gatherings of members of the moneyed class. One of these is a meeting held by the "Association for the Betterment of the Conditions of Released Convicts." Frau von Setzen has thought to restore her damaged reputation by engaging in charitable enterprises. The meeting (pp. 251–267), however, does not yield the convincing types drawn at the "Feudale Klub." In this latter gathering, Kretzer has brought together the archetypes of the élite. Here the author is able to portray vividly the types which populate the well-furnished offices of big business and government bureaus: the habitués of clubs and embassies, and smart society generally. Here are to be seen the same four gentlemanly companions whom we met at the dinner. There is Neukirch, the suave roué, whose soft words make the hearts of so many beautiful women flutter wildly. There is von Schichlinski, drawn as the Lohengrin of the aristocracy, who ever rises to refute the selfish arguments of his peers. Next we see the cleverly conceived musician, who is careful never to offend the com-

pany. With this character, Kretzer is very successful, revealing a true insight into his insipid nature. The quartette is completed by the person of Dr. Isidor Gerechter, the Jewish journalist, whose subtle strokes of the pen have made him a figure to be respected and feared. Throughout the novel these four receive the closest analysis of all the male characters, and it must be said that the image he creates of them is a fine example of the art of literary photography.

Here is also the wealthy publisher, Löschkopf, who by his vanity becomes an easy prey to the machinations of his fellows. Through beguiling words, he is led to finance most of the undertakings, with the result that he is always on hand as the honorary figurehead. Count Bärme, one of the richest Pomeranian landowners, is an outstanding figure at the meeting. His avarice is proverbial. As owner of the club house, he has no compunction about increasing the rent each year. His advice to workmen, as he sips choice red wine, is to live more modestly, curbing their thirst for beer and " schnapps." A highly successful bourgeois merchant and a professor of political economy engage in a one-sided colloquy on economic theory. When the professor ends his long-winded harangue, the bourgeois gentleman, who has been thinking about his business affairs, pleasantly remarks: " Won't you please explain it again? I didn't quite follow you " (pp. 210–212). Other business men are present, as, for instance, the exchange speculator; this gentleman, though voluble in his anti-Semitism, does not hesitate to carry on an immense business with Jewish brokers. A fashionable minister is there, described as the " bourgeois counterpart of Count Bärme." Though preaching the wretchedness of the slums, he is the owner of many tenements and ruthless in his eviction of tardy debtors.

Then there are others who are merely alluded to: the agi-

tator of the Conservative party, who disparages the fat bankroll he has just pocketed; the retired army officers with their grotesque efforts to affect the carriage and manners of the active list; well-fed bankers, burdened with heavy gold watch-chains; the country gentry, with their weather-beaten faces and their old-fashioned manners and dress. Successful physicians, architects, and university professors complete the company, and, "unobtrusively perched in a deserted corner, a young but already well-known author who, almost timidly, but with ever-searching eyes, viewed the groups in order to make his sociological studies."

The purpose of the meeting is to formulate plans to assist the benevolent legislation of the Iron Chancellor. The estimable group is interrupted by Braun, who arrives to search out the blind musician Liese, who has been engaged to entertain the gathering. Braun, who has come to seek aid from Liese, gets a few pfennigs as charity from the gentlemen; and when Liese in fury points out Neukirch as the seducer of Olga Braun, father and musician are immediately ejected. The gentlemen regain their equanimity, and their generous proposals again fill a tranquil atmosphere.

The novel has a strong erotic undercurrent. This is particularly noticeable in the description of Neukirch's love affairs. Here Kretzer shows a greater frankness than heretofore, yet the details are still handled with reserve. It is, however, a definite stage in the development toward that unwholesome candor, or better, indelicacy, which marks the descriptions of illicit meetings in later naturalistic fiction. In *Drei Weiber* the arrangement of tables and chairs, the wine glasses set for the utmost comfort and congeniality, the insinuating tones in the furnishings of the rooms, the drawn curtains — these are the results of a keen observation. And actually in certain instances,[3] a blunt coarseness

[3] Cf. the vomiting scene (pp. 96–97); the nymphomania of Fanny von Setzen (pp. 157–159).

mars the *finesse* of the scene but reveals in all its nakedness the bestiality in human nature.

Neukirch's activities are reflected in his unspeakable moral sentiments (p. 104). Throughout it is von Schichlinski who rises to refute him. For Neukirch, women exist only to serve his appetites. There is nothing chivalrous or gallant in his character, for all his hypocritical politeness. His acts of urbanity are the compromises he has had to make with a civilization which attempts to blind women to their true purpose. If lower-class women meet an inexorable fate regardless of their foolish ideals, the women of the upper classes imitate of their own free will the behavior of their sisters of a humbler birth. When Doctor Gerechter proposes that women of the lower class should receive a dowry from the state or take vows of chastity under pain of death, Neukirch, acknowledging that the state's parsimony would make the latter alternative necessary, sees busy days ahead for the executioner!

In other words, Kretzer would infer that society, so concerned with its merely physical interests, is ready to sacrifice any nobler concept for the satisfaction of its bestial impulses. Again, one is reminded that the patrons of the Tenderloin are the young men of the moneyed classes. These are the protectors of prostitution. When certain members of their class are able to ensnare their own women, they simply apply their bawdy-house experience and methods to more polite surroundings.

Of course, there are still idealists to be found among aristocrats, but that Kretzer has not attempted to make a strong case for them, is easy to discern. Von Schichlinski acknowledges the conditions, and blames the innate bestiality of men for them. Another example of a remnant idealism is furnished by the gesture of a young officer at the " Feudale Klub." As the millionaires donate their small change to the unfortunate Braun, he throws in his last

gold piece as a sacrifice to the honor of his class. He is to be excused, however, through his youth.

Generally speaking, except for certain instances of a somewhat crude and exaggerated technique, the contribution of *Drei Weiber* to naturalism lies in the nature of its subject-matter. Taking a skeleton situation and, for the most part, characters which have traditional origins, the author locates the ensemble definitely in respect to time and space. Then, after a thorough examination of it in its new locations and disguises, he adapts situation and characters to the purposes of his ever-recurrent social thesis. Man in his present condition is a paragon of iniquity. Of a bestial nature, yet with tendencies toward more beautiful and more noble ideals, the forces of his nature within the environment peculiar to modern civilization must ever conquer these tendencies, deaden his sensibilities, and reconvert him into his essential pattern of bestiality.

Either through incompetence or as an acknowledgment of hopelessness, Kretzer proposes panaceas which sound flat and shallow. The remedies brought forward by his small coterie of idealists are hopelessly Utopian. Whether the scenes are filled with the tragic pathos of poverty, as in his preceding novels, or with the glamour of aristocratic assemblies, as in *Drei Weiber*, the shadow of prostitution as an incurable social disease always obtrudes. It is this pessimistic view of civilization which gave the later naturalists so much to draw upon.

We have seen Kretzer blunder through a milieu still foreign to him. Yet, often he has astounded us by the confidence with which he depicts scenes he has observed at close range. We catch a glimpse of him in the close air of the club when " almost timidly but with ever-searching eyes, a young but already well-known writer passed by the single groups in order to make his sociological studies." The dar-

ing of the young man in thus treading upon the toes of the powers-that-be impresses us in these surroundings as an act of rashness. Finally, when the book is closed and the author has received the criticism which he justly deserves, the reader retains, nevertheless, a lasting sense of the profound sincerity with which Kretzer has arraigned contemporary élite society.

CHAPTER VII

A NOVEL OF THE NEW ECONOMY: MEISTER TIMPE

The last novel which this study undertakes to analyze has been accorded more interest by critics and literary historians than any other of Kretzer's works. By common consent, *Meister Timpe,* published in 1888, is conceded to be the "best" of Kretzer's earlier works.[1] Thus, standing as it does at the end of the decade which was to determine the character of German naturalism, one may hope to discover a fusion of those trends and characteristics which had set off Kretzer's technique against the preceding generation of authors.

The novel considers the history of a family of the old handicraft tradition, ruined through the rapid rise of capitalism which followed upon the financial excesses of the "Gründerjahre."[2] These hazardous times had been the background for Kretzer's first novel in which he had sensationally exploited the flagrant immorality brought on by new riches and unaccustomed luxury. In *Meister Timpe,*

[1] This judgment, as well as the most detailed criticism, of the novel is found in: F. Kirchner, *Gründeutschland,* Leipzig, 1893, pp. 220–221; Erich Schmidt, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* Oct. 6. 1888; A. v. Hanstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 100 ff.; H. Ströbel, in *Die Neue Zeit,* Stuttgart, 1897–98, No. 11, pp. 330 ff.; H. Hölzke, *Zwanzig Jahre deutscher Literatur,* Braunschweig, 1905, pp. 74 ff.; A. Soergel, *op. cit.,* pp. 112 ff.

[2] Cf. above, p. 22, footnote 1.

however, this critical period furnishes not only the story but constitutes as well the framework upon which the plot is built. Here Kretzer, returning to the theme after nine years of literary development, handles his materials with a far greater understanding of their full portent.

Through the payment of the French war indemnity, Germany had become flooded with currency. Because of this influx of money, business men found themselves with great sources of surplus capital available for the expansion of their business and the conversion of small establishments into factories. This made possible a tremendously rapid development of the new Germany toward complete capitalization and industrialization. In this great economic readjustment there was necessarily an even greater social readjustment, and it is the latter which supplies our author with the contents of his story.

The novel not only depicts the history of a single family going to economic and social ruin; it epitomizes at the same time the struggle of two generations in a life and death encounter. The older perishes, and with it some of the most precious elements of old German culture; the new lives on in sordid degradation, sustained by the blood it drains from its defeated opponent.

In contrast to the intricate plots of *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen,* the story of *Meister Timpe* is simple and direct. Johannes Timpe, a master-turner in comfortable circumstances, lives with his family in Alt-Berlin. His blind father, Gottfried, often warns him against his overindulgence toward Franz, Timpe's only son. Timpe, however, does not heed these admonitions and allows Franz full rein with his own desires. Against the wishes of his grandfather, Franz, instead of following the family trade, that of turning with the hand-lathe, enters the office of Urban whose factory is equipped with modern power-lathes.

There he soon gains the confidence of his employer. By a successful marriage, Urban has come into possession of some property adjacent to Meister Timpe's turning shop, which will enable him to cope quite successfully with the less resourceful craftsman. He attempts to procure Timpe's property and, failing to do so, quarrels violently with the wood-turner. His first step toward revenge is to estrange his young employee from his father. Finally, he is able to cajole Franz into stealing certain models from his father's shop. With the theft of these models, his competitive ascendency over Timpe is assured.

Franz, as a reward, is married to Urban's stepdaughter. The rupture between father and son is now complete. The inevitable happens. Timpe's business fails. His wife dies. At this juncture, his last remaining workman attempts to win him over to the Social-Democratic party. Timpe's faith in the monarchy, however, is still unshaken. But with the bankruptcy proceedings drawing near, he consents to go with Beyer, his foreman, to a Socialist meeting. Torn with the agony of his sorrows, he rises to speak. In a moment of uncontrollable rage, his denunciations of the system which had caused his ruin flood the room to astound his listeners. A few days later, awaiting arraignment for his seditious speech, he barricades himself in his house, sets fire to it and dies.

The novel reproduces the times as Kretzer sees them. Even though the picture is clouded with pessimism, this cannot be said to invalidate the author's efforts. For, when Timpe, symbolizing the generation heroically perishing before the onslaught of its successor, powerfully armed with new weapons, meets his death among the charred embers of his house, we are not only watching the sad fate of an unimportant German wood-turner, or, for that matter, of the guild of turners, but rather the pageant of a race moving

steadily toward degradation, trampling to death whatever obstacles block its tragic pathway. This is a gloomy picture, conditioned, perhaps, by the author's natural reaction to the environment of his early life, but its morbid gloom does not detract from its truth.

The straightforward development of the plot is paralleled by a similar straightforward delineation of the characters.

"The characterization of Meister Timpe is most successful," says Kirchner. "Out of excessive love he pardons his son; out of childlike love for his blind father he will never sell his estate; out of obstinacy and pride, he spurns every consolation, help, and questionable means of support. Only in the excess of grief did he speak *like* a Social-Democrat; the doctrine of the party is all nonsense to him; in his heart he has always remained a true monarchist." [3]

Although this summary is perfectly valid, it cannot be considered complete. In order to portray a man whose main characteristic is simplicity, the author has recourse to a complex interweaving of Timpe's reactions, out of which the turner's steadfast simplicity stands forth. For instance, the utter guilelessness which marks his meeting with Urban (pp. 43 ff.) will merely reinforce the whole idea of simplicity. At this meeting Timpe discloses to the man who is to be his rival his latest plans for the future, his methods of manufacture, the devices by which he turns out his prod-

[3] F. Kirchner, *op. cit.*, p. 220: "Am besten ist die Charakteristik Meister Timpes gelungen: Aus Affenliebe verzeiht er seinem Sohn, aus kindlicher Liebe zum blinden Vater will er sein Grundstück nie und nimmer verkaufen; aus Trotz und Stolz verschmäht er jeden Trost, jede Hülfe, jedes zweifelhafte Mittel. Nur im Übermaße seines Schmerzes hat er *wie* ein Sozialdemokrat gesprochen, die Lehre der Partei ist ihm 'Mumpitz,' im Herzen ist er treu monarchisch geblieben."

ucts. Again, we see these characteristics in the patriarchal relation between him and his journeymen (pp. 179 ff.). Because of the honesty and fairness prevailing on both sides, their relations are never disturbed. In his home, also, the relationships show this same " old-fashioned " directness of feeling. The grandfather is a person of honor and reverence for Meister Timpe, and Timpe's affection for his son, in turn, is unbounded. The love for Franz seems blind and foolish when it is wasted on the representative of a generation which pays back in sullied coin; for despite this love and care, Franz is one of the moving factors in his father's downfall.

One critic, however, finds fault with the delineation of Timpe's character. After praising Kretzer's broad effects, he says that " in tracing involved phenomena . . . of psychological life, Kretzer's strength fails." [4] It is very evident, however, that Kretzer succeeds well in reproducing the terrific conflict which takes place in Timpe's mind. A few excerpts will, perhaps, demonstrate how well Kretzer is able to conjure up before his reader apprehension, fear, and finally, terror. Timpe is contemplating the rise of the new buildings all around him:

" In July, the foundation of the new factory already rose above the ground. Tree after tree had fallen; and the fall of each of them and the crash of its branches sounded in Timpe's imagination like the groaning of a dying man. He was seized with the feeling as though every year of his past life was vanishing once more. What fell with those trees, was the Old Berlin, the scene of his childhood, the fairy atmosphere of his boyhood. And each spadeful of earth, each blow of the axe and the hammer, wounded his heart and brought him a burning ache. . . . In time, a vague idea overcame him: he imagined that his entire fortune depended on the completion of that gigantic building; he feared that the

[4] H. Ströbel, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

walls, as they rose higher, would gradually crush him, his family, and his little house." [5]

And when the factory buildings are finally finished, Timpe is seized with terror:

"Spectre-like, starkly outlined in the light of the moon, the windowless walls of the new factory towered into the darkness. A vision came over him: A hundred busy hands began to move there across the way. There was a rattling, a buzzing, and a humming; hissing steam rose to the sky, the factory whistles sounded shrilly. And suddenly blood-red vapor rose before his eyes. A thousand arms stretched out toward him, and out of innumerable throats there rang forth the terrible words: 'Master, we will kill you, you are in our way!' He defended himself with gigantic strength; but gradually the blows fell so thick and fast upon him that he grew weaker and weaker and sank to the ground with a cry of despair followed by a deep sigh." [6]

[5] "Im Juli ragte bereits das Fundament der neuen Fabrik über dem Erdboden empor. Baum auf Baum war gefallen, und mit dem Sturze eines jeden und dem Krachen seiner Äste, das sich in der Phantasie Timpes wie das Ächzen eines Sterbenden angehört hatte, war den Meister die Empfindung überkommen, als schwände jedes zurückgelegte Jahr seines Lebens nochmals dahin. Was dort fiel, war das alte Berlin, der stete Anblick seiner Kindheit, der Märchenduft seiner Knabenjahre. Und jeder Spatenstich, jeder Axthieb und Hammerschlag bereitete seinem Herzen eine Wunde, die ihm brennende Schmerzen verursachte . . . Mit der Zeit überkam ihn eine Art Idee: er bildete sich ein, daß seine ganze Zukunft von der Vollendung des Riesengebäudes abhängen werde, er fürchtete, die Mauern würden, je höher sie rückten, ihn, seine ganze Familie und das Häuschen nach und nach erdrücken." (pp. 76–7)

[6] "Gespensterhaft, grell vom Lichte des Mondes beschienen, ragten die fensterlosen Mauern der neuen Fabrik in den Äther. Eine Vision überkam ihn: Hundert geschäftige Hände begannen sich drüben zu regen. Es klapperte, schnurrte und walzte; zischend stieg der Dampf zum Himmel empor, schrill ertönte der Pfiff der Pfeife. Und plötzlich stieg blutroter Qualm vor seinen Augen auf. Tausend Arme streckten sich ihm entgegen, riesige Hämmer wurden über seinem

These are real fears, and the only question regarding the passages quoted might possibly lie in their making Timpe a somewhat more imaginative figure than his usual stoic character would allow.[7] Bearing in mind that Timpe is obviously a character toward whom Kretzer feels particularly sympathetic, one may expect to find reflected in him many of the author's own reactions. Indeed, the turner's general attitude toward life, is illustrated by the following *cliché,* which assures us that Kretzer, whether consciously or not, really found in Timpe the typical bourgeois:

"Let everybody do and have whatever he will. The value of life does not consist in saying, I am this or that, or I own this or that, but in saying, I am contented. Love of work, no envy toward your neighbor, and faith in the eternal God — these are the three maxims which we must first take to heart if we would enjoy real inner happiness. For, that happiness comes from without, will be

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Kopf geschwungen, and aus unzähligen Kehlen hallten die fürchterlichen Worte: 'Meister, wir schlagen dich tot, du bist uns im Wege!' Er wehrte sich mit Riesenkräften; aber allmählich hagelten die Schläge so dicht auf ihn hernieder, daß er schwächer und schwächer wurde und mit einem Schrei der Verzweiflung, dem ein langer Seufzer folgte, zu Boden sank." (p. 99)

[7] In fact, this treatment of the internal conflicts of the individual is to become one of the main characteristics of a new technique which grew out of naturalism. Dissatisfied with the simple cataloguing of qualities and precise statements of actions — the more naïve method of the early naturalists — the next generation of writers was to evolve a method of delineation which registered detail insofar as it reflected what the authors considered man's *inner* conflict to be. Throughout the entire treatment of Timpe, one finds suggestions of what will constitute this new literary method — *impressionism.* — Cf. Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte,* Berlin, 1902. 1. Ergänzungsband, p. 297: "In der Haupthandlung wächst aus dem urväterlichen Formenwesen schließlich in trauriger Schönheit ein nicht mehr bloß physiologischer, sondern schon psychologisch schildernder *Impressionismus* hervor. (The italics are Lamprecht's.)

said only by those who have never experienced it in their own hearts." [8]

It is interesting to find Kretzer's earlier hero of the petty bourgeoisie, the master-turner Schorn, voicing precisely the same sentiment (cf. above, p. 29).

Timpe's father, Gottfried, represents "an epoch long since vanished: those days following the War of Liberation when after a long period of ignominy, the trades once again came to be honored, and the good old German customs began to reign anew. He lived forever in the memory of that glorious past." [9] Kretzer, accordingly, endows the old man with obvious virtues: honesty, frugality, industry. Gottfried's opinion on the training of children is quite in keeping with these traits; he continually admonishes his son to discipline Franz, and ridicules the parent's "Affenliebe" (pp. 13, 14, 110). He is, of course, at odds with modern life and always bewailing the fact that the good old days are irrevocably gone (p. 10).

While Kretzer contents himself with sketching Gottfried in a few broad strokes, he spends unstinting efforts on his characterization of Franz Timpe. Franz, as Kretzer points

[8] "Laß jeden tun und jeden haben, was er will. Der Wert des Lebens besteht nicht darin, zu sagen, ich bin das und das und ich besitze das und das, sondern darin, daß der Mensch sage: Ich bin zufrieden. Liebe zur Arbeit, Neidlosigkeit dem Nächsten gegenüber und der Glaube an einen ewigen Gott — das sind die drei Dinge, die wir zuerst beherzigen müssen, wollen wir uns eines wirklichen inneren Glückes erfreuen. Denn daß das Glück von außen kommt, sagen nur diejenigen, die es in ihrem Innern nie empfunden haben." (p. 34)

[9] "... eine längst vergangene Epoche: jene Zeit nach den Befreiungskriegen, wo nach langer Schmach das Handwerk wieder zu Ehren gekommen war und die deutsche Sitte aufs neue zu herrschen begann. Er lebte ewig in der Erinnerung an jene glorreiche Zeit." (p. 21)

out for the benefit of the reader, " represented the new generation at the beginning of the boom, a generation striving only to make easy money and to sacrifice the customs of the unpretentious bourgeoisie to the Moloch of indulgence." [10] Accordingly, he depicts Franz as a thoroughly despicable character. This biased description of what Kretzer would have us consider a " typical " representative of the modern generation has been considered a serious flaw. Critics have particularly assailed as inartistic Franz Timpe's stealing his father's patterns. Moreover, the inconsistency involved in portraying the youthful Franz as an indolent rogue who later becomes a successful business man has also been pointed out.[11] These objections perhaps misconstrue Kretzer's apparent intention: it would rather seem that he adopted the obvious device of theft to show the utter demoralization of the modern generation. Even their contemptibility in terms of the old standards did not prevent the youth of this generation from becoming " successes " in terms of the new. And Franz is the modern business man, whose total lack of sentiment is particularly obnoxious to Kretzer. When Fräulein Urban bewails in truly romantic fashion the destruction of a park to make room for her father's factory, Franz answers for commerce:

" Rest assured that I know how to appreciate your righteous grief. However, ' we ' must never forget that it is the business man who rules the world, and that he calculates with his reason only. ' We ' who have accustomed ourselves to judge the value of a thing only from a practical point of view must leave sentimental-

[10] " . . . vertrat die neue Generation der beginnenden Gründerjahre, die nur danach trachtete, auf leichte Art Geld zu verdienen und die Gewohnheiten des schlichten Bürgertums dem Moloch des Genusses zu opfern." (p. 22)

[11] Cf. Richard M. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 799; H. Hölzke, *op. cit.*, p. 75; H. Ströbel, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

ity to those who have never had the faintest conception that the greatest things on earth owe their origin only to trade. Figures are everything today; only he who can handle figures can hope to get along in life and to enjoy it. 'We' business men are the real promoters — pardon the use of a business term — I mean to say, 'we' are the only saviours of oppressed mankind." [12]

In Franz the outline of Kretzer's attitude toward the commercial life of the "Gründerjahre" is begun; and this picture is rounded out by the delineation of Urban, Franz Timpe's mentor in his business career.

Urban represents the typical entrepreneur in his successful fight against the handicraftsman, standing for capitalistic production with its less alluring, less beautiful, but its cheaper, standardized products. He is to stamp out handicraftsmanship with the relentless patience of a powerful army laying siege to a stronghold manned by weak forces. In time the besieged must surrender and if their love and pride is more valuable to them than life itself, they succumb. Such was the surrender of Meister Timpe; such, Kretzer would have us know, was the capitulation of the other true German handicraftsmen as they fell before the persistent avarice of capitalism.

[12] "Seien Sie versichert, daß ich Ihren gerechten Schmerz zu würdigen weiß. Jedoch dürfen 'wir' nicht vergessen, daß der Kaufmann die Welt regiert und daß er nur mit dem Verstande rechnet. Die Sentimentalität müssen 'wir,' die 'wir' uns daran gewöhnt haben, den Nutzen einer Sache nur vom praktischen Standpunkte aus zu beurteilen, allen denen überlassen, die niemals einen Begriff davon gehabt haben, daß die größten Dinge dieser Erde ihr Entstehen nur dem Handel zu verdanken haben. Die Zahl macht heute alles; nur wer rechnen kann, hat Aussicht, zu etwas zu kommen und sein Leben zu genießen. 'Wir' Kaufleute sind die eigentlichen Macher — Pardon, wenn ich mich zu sehr geschäftsmäßig ausgedrückt habe — ich wollte sagen die einzigen Erlöser der bedrängten Menschheit." (pp. 59–60)

But the characterization of Urban is more than a vaguely delineated symbol of the forces which are laying waste the old Germany. Urban is instead a very living person, reflecting the power and determination, the foibles and the passions of a new kind of citizen who is to populate capitalistic Germany. Kretzer has learned how such a man regulates his life, his family, and his business to the one end that wealth be attained. He offers his stepdaughter as the price if Franz would steal the patterns. It is the alert business man who visits Timpe's shop, noting all the details he will be able to use (pp. 47–48). In the same way, his ruthless campaign for Timpe's customers shows that he is well acquainted with tricky methods for enlarging his trade. With underselling as his aim, he is willing to take a small profit, for he knows his turnovers will be big. He buys his raw materials in large quantities and sells stock articles only. He is ever on the lookout for novelties to catch the fancy of his customer and by these and other means, he captures Timpe's entire market for himself (pp. 163 ff.). Finally, it is the unscrupulous capitalist who, failing to force Timpe to sell his property, builds a factory next to the turner's shop, thus cutting off the light from the journeymen at work. The same type of greedy, calculating person is revealed at the party at Urban's house. Kretzer from the beginning had shown a decided talent for capturing the spirit of a petty bourgeois gathering. Here (pp. 113–132) he regales himself with a florid description of these people attempting to amuse themselves.

While the critics are of various opinions as to Kretzer's characters, they show a readiness to praise his scenes. In a succession of rapidly moving episodes, Timpe is pushed headlong to his doom. In these scenes the author attains the height of his descriptive and dramatic power. At a

meeting of the strikers (pp. 302 ff.) we get a vivid view of Social Democracy, which Kretzer never loses an opportunity of portraying. Because of his control of the realistic effects which help to form the climax of the novel, his technique can best be illustrated by a detailed discussion of the episode. It is at this meeting that Timpe loses control of himself and breaks into a passionate outburst against the forces which have succeeded in submerging him.

Like many such meetings in Germany, it is described as an orderly gathering of thoughtful men who, though moved at times to emotional demonstration, are quickly quieted by a gesture on the part of a police-lieutenant. Whipped on by the subtle eloquence of their agitators, the crowd cannot help growing tense to the situation as the speaker flaunts their sufferings before them. Kretzer has captured the atmosphere with real acumen. But his artistry is best revealed when, in answer to the questioning glances of the lieutenant, the leader is able to relieve the tension he has skilfully brought about.

At the end of the speech, which takes a humorous turn for the purpose of allaying the suspicions of the lieutenant, Meister Timpe rises to speak. He begins to tell of his plight, stating that after fifty years' experience, he feels himself well qualified to talk of their common lot. He has been reduced to the state of a beggar, he points out, by the trickery of a new and unscrupulous type of business man. He condemns Urban and his class as a group of entrepreneurs, " whose only knowledge lies in their pocket-books, for whom nothing is sacred when they can ruin the tradesman " (p. 313). As an illustration he tells of the theft of the patterns; catching sight, at this moment, of his son Franz in the audience, his stirred-up emotions overpower him completely:

"The note which he sounded at this moment filled every one with amazement. There arose a commotion as if the entire audience were rising to a man in order to burst forth into tumultuous enthusiasm. That was a speech such as had not been heard for a long while. The entire bourgeoisie, all the capitalists of the world should have been present in a body so that they might have been mowed down by the speech of this old gentleman. Oh, how they were being walloped! That was a courageous address, straight from the shoulder! . . . He paused as if to draw a fresh breath, and then sought for words to give complete expression to his indignation. But words seemed to fail him; it was as if he had suddenly lost the power of speech. For a moment he was quite silent. His hearers became uneasy. Then all of a sudden there occurred to him what his grandfather had told him. The elemental rage of a human being who had to remain silent for years seized him and, no longer in complete control of his senses, he shouted out into the audience: 'Down with the smoke-stacks! They poison the air . . . ! Down with the factories! Destroy the machines!' . . .

"This was as far as he got. The police-lieutenant placed his helmet on his head and declared the meeting closed. At the same time thousands of forms rose to their feet, and thousands of arms waved hats and caps while a boisterous cheer resounded through the hall like the roaring of an unleashed storm. Timpe was cheered and so was the Social-Democratic party. Then there resounded from hundreds of throats the workman's Marseillaise:

'We do not fear the foe
Nor the dangers one and all:
We boldly follow 'long the course
Laid down by brave Lassalle.'

"With each additional strophe the number of singers doubled. The very earth seemed to tremble under the tread of the masses as they marched in perfect time to the exit, precisely as though they were marching to the field of battle." [13]

[13] "Der Ton, den er jetzt anschlug, setzte alle in Erstaunen. Es entstand eine Bewegung, als wollte die ganze Versammlung sich von

The novel ends with the events which follow from the stirring clash of emotions and interests which had given the strike meeting so vital a content. The conclusion embodies perhaps the highest point of Kretzer's descriptive powers. It is a dramatic situation in which description and technique unobtrusively afford a very real and convincing background for the conflict. In utter bankruptcy, faced with trial for treason against the homeland he loved, completely

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den Sitzen erheben, um in helle Begeisterung auszubrechen. Das war eine Sprache, die man lange nicht vernommen hatte. Die ganze Bourgeoisie, sämtliche Kapitalisten der Welt hätten hier anwesend sein müssen, um von diesem alten Herrn da oben mit Worten zusammengeschossen zu werden. Hei, wie die mitgenommen wurden! Das war ein frisches Wort, frei von der Leber! . . . Er machte eine Pause, um Atem zu schöpfen, und suchte dann nach Worten, um seinem höchsten Grimm Luft zu machen; aber er fand sie nicht. Es schien, als hätte ihn plötzlich die Sprache verlassen. Minutenlang schwieg er. Die Zuhörer wurden unruhig. Da fiel ihm ein, was der Großvater so oft gesagt hatte. Die elementare Wut eines Menschen, der jahrelang schweigen mußte, packte ihn, und seiner Sinne nicht mehr mächtig, schrie er in die Menge hinein: 'Die Schornsteine müssen gestürzt werden, denn sie verpesten die Luft . . . Schleift die Fabriken . . . zerbrecht die Maschinen!!' . . . Er kam nicht weiter. Der Polizeileutnant setzte den Helm auf und erklärte jetzt die Versammlung für aufgelöst. Zu gleicher Zeit erhoben sich tausend Gestalten, tausend Arme schwenkten Hüte und Mützen und eine ungeheure Beifallssalve durchbrauste gleich einem entfesselten Sturm den Saal. Hochrufe auf Timpe und die Sozialdemokratie erschallten; dann ertönte aus hundert Kehlen der Gesang der Arbeitermarseillaise:

'Nicht fürchten wir den Feind,
Nicht die Gefahren all,
Kühn gehen wir die Bahn,
Die uns geführt Lassalle.'

"Mit jeder Strophe verdoppelten sich die Sänger und die Erde schien zu erzittern unter den Tritten der Massen, die mit schwerem Taktschritt dem Ausgange zuströmten, als ginge es zum Kampfplatz."

betrayed by his son, the old man goes down into the cellar of his home and, committing himself to his Maker, sets fire to his own funeral pyre. When the neighbors see the flames they come running to the place to hear the dirge of an unconquered spirit. "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" comes through the roaring flames, as they attempt to rescue him. Powerless to accomplish this, they hear his words grow fainter and fainter. When the flames have died down, they rush into the cellar and find Timpe dead. Clenched in his left hand, he holds his son's picture. The searchers see Timpe's handwriting on the wall: "Es lebe der Kaiser!" they read, "Hoch lebe der Kaiser!" And while they are carrying the corpse out of the cellar, a train, crossing Timpe's beloved plot of ground on the new railroad tracks, comes thundering by.

Kretzer's felicity of description, however, is not dependent upon stark tragedy. From the very first, his treatment of the petty bourgeoisie rang true. Again, in *Meister Timpe,* we find several examples, such as Urban's party (pp. 113 ff.) and particularly the tavern-scene (p. 142 ff.), which form a successful reproduction of this bourgeois atmosphere. "The humorous vagaries of ale-house keepers and the eccentricities of their guests, Kretzer has at his finger-tips . . . ,"[14] and this is attested once more in the description of Jamrath's "Weissbierkeller" and its clientele:

"In this one long and smoky ground-floor room, with its scoured tables and heavy high-backed chairs, where light-colored sand strewn fresh every morning took the place of an up-to-date floor, one could still see the real old-fashioned burghers of Berlin — remnants of a bygone age. What faces one saw there! What

[14] H. W. Hewett-Thayer, *The Modern German Novel,* Boston, 1924, p. 98.

quaint patriarchal figures still sat there every evening at the big round table reserved for the habitués . . . ! " [15]

— at which point Kretzer goes into a detailed and intimate description of various Berlin types, a technique which we have had occasion to observe in the tavern-scenes of his previous novels.

It is peculiar that with the success achieved in his descriptions the author did not gain a greater technical mastery of naturalistic dialogue. In three instances only does he make a successful attempt to have his characters speak their native dialect,[16] and even then he does not fulfil the promise of *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen* (cf. above pp. 48 f., 63). Moreover, in these instances the speakers are mere onlookers. Meister Timpe, unfortunately, is one of those characters whose language justly convicts the author of using " Papierdeutsch " (cf. above, p. 48).

It will be recalled that the one issue around which *Die beiden Genossen* revolves, is Kretzer's repudiation of the communistic theory of free love. Really important problems of the Social-Democratic party are either neglected or merely alluded to. Similarly, in *Die Betrogenen,* Kretzer arraigns mainly one of the social evils, prostitution. Other harmful social results of industrialism — alcohol, poverty, unemployment — appear only as subsidiary features. Such

[15] " In dem einzigen langgestreckten, verräucherten Parterregeschoß mit den weißgescheuerten Tischen und schweren hochlehnigen Holzstühlen, wo der an jedem Morgen frisch gestreute helle Sand den modernen Fußboden ersetzen mußte, zeigte sich noch das unverfälschte Berlinertum, hatte sich noch der Rest einer alten Welt erhalten. Was für Physiognomien traf man da an, was für vorväterliche Gestalten beherrschten allabendlich den großen runden Stammtisch . . . ! " (p. 142)

[16] Berlin dialect: p. 105 (one sentence); pp. 265–6 (one page and a half). Dresden dialect: p. 105 (one sentence).

factors, however, are stressed in *Die Verkommenen*, where the economic importance of the "Gründerjahre" is now clearly recognized. Thus, within a period of three years (1880: *Die beiden Genossen*, 1883: *Die Verkommenen*), Kretzer's social horizon had considerably broadened, his insight into economic problems deepened. Nevertheless, the pictures he had so far drawn of the Social-Democratic party and of the proletariat were still fragmentary. They resemble, as we have already noted, "a kind of mosaic without unity of plan or grandeur of design . . . although some of the individual mosaics are of unsurpassed workmanship."[17] This is not so in *Meister Timpe*. Here, the author gives us a design of grand dimensions. But even more important, a contemporaneous period like the "Gründerjahre" is here, for the first time in German literature, discussed exhaustively and with due recognition of its effects on economic life.

Meister Timpe is a novel of the new economic principles. More precisely, it is a novel of the effects of the new economic procedure upon the lives of those who are most intimately affected by it. In dealing with this situation, Kretzer shows himself a keen student of the affairs of the times. It has already been mentioned that Urban's conduct of his business affairs gives evidence of a real familiarity with the doctrines of the new economic order. Already, the monetary benefits to be derived from mass production of stock articles, concentration of labor, mechanical equipment and standardized products are well known. The theory of increasing returns in industry was one of the main motives in displacing handicraft technique by factory technique.[18]

What were soon to become the traditional arguments

[17] H. W. Hewett-Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[18] This is brought out particularly in pp. 163 ff.

against machine production are voiced at this time by Timpe and his foreman, Beyer.[19] Their sentiments are the counterpart of a really significant tendency which manifested itself at the time. Both in England and on the Continent large numbers of people were harking back to other days, "good old days," when beauty and comfort were not subverted to a mad scramble for money.

Similarly, the attitudes of capitalism and socialism toward the distribution of the commodities arise from this conflict of interests. Urban is perfectly willing to incorporate any scheme, however unjust, for the sake of making more sales. Because of mass production, there is the need of finding a ready market for the larger amount of goods. To this end, Urban begins a price contest which soon goes far below what Timpe's costs will permit him to afford (pp. 165–167). This is an intensely real situation; and when its effects necessitate the dismissal of the journeymen, they realize that Urban is taking from them their rightful livelihood. The strike of the masons and the sympathetic strike which the other workers undertake, show that the people were already awake to the effects of the new social situation upon labor.

[19] Timpe: "Die großen Fabriken sind der Ruin des Handwerks, nur sie ganz allein. Es wird eines Tages keine Handwerker mehr geben, nur noch Arbeiter. Und das wird der Untergang des Staates und des gesunden Bürgertums sein. In unserem Stande lernt heute niemand mehr etwas. Die Lehrlinge werden in den Fabriken nur zu Tagelöhnern herangebildet. Haben sie ausgelernt, sind sie eigentlich nur noch Arbeitsleute. Der eine fertigt jahraus jahrein diesen Teil an und der andere jenen, aber keiner hat eine Ahnung vom Ganzen." (p. 153)

Beyer: "Aber ich habe es immer gesagt: Die Überproduktion wird die Menschen zugrunde richten. Die großen Fabriken fressen das Handwerk auf, und zuletzt bleibt weiter nichts übrig, als Arbeiter und Fabrikanten, zweibeinige Maschinen und Dampfkessel. Wie soll das enden!" (p. 131)

Meister Timpe represents the author's highest accomplishment up to this time. It immediately precedes the decade which was to usher in the works of those writers who have given to German naturalism so widespread and so significant a place in the history of literature.

An effort has been made in this chapter to outline the main characteristics of the work. These characteristics represent the stages in the development of the author and of the literature to which he was contributing. Their major significance becomes apparent only when they are set off against the background which his earlier works afford. A comparison between the tendencies to be noted in *Meister Timpe* and these earlier novels will give the basis for determining what path literature took in moving from the realism of the seventies to the widespread "Konsequenter Naturalismus" of the nineties. It is to this comparison that the next and last chapter addresses itself.

CONCLUSION

The decade which has been under consideration witnessed in Kretzer such development as we have traced through the five novels produced during this period. The sentimental, youthful, and somewhat fatuous novel *Die beiden Genossen* was published in 1880. Eight years later, as a man of thirty-four, Kretzer produced *Meister Timpe.* Contrasted, these novels seem to have no resemblance; nevertheless, the years between are joined by strands of continuity which tie these works into a unified whole. The period represents the progressive development of an author in step with the shifting conditions of a period of marked social transition.

Kretzer's literary activity until 1888 embodies two aspects of equal importance: his development as a literary craftsman, and as a social thinker. The preceding analyses of the novels have shown that Kretzer's chief contribution to naturalism is the introduction of new subject-matter. Of less importance is his gradual development in naturalistic technique.

He draws his subject-matter largely, if not exclusively, from the industrial and proletarian life of Berlin. *Die beiden Genossen,* negligible in every other literary respect, is noteworthy for the fact that it seizes upon the Social-Democratic party as a new and promising subject for the German novel. *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen* are studies of vice in a setting of alcohol, unemployment, fraudulent business dealings, crime, prostitution, and the pred-

atory lust of the idle rich. In these volumes a wealth of new subject-matter appears, for the first time, in German fiction. This includes Zipfel's basement-saloon, the strikes caused by the economic depression of the " Gründerjahre," the dime-novel factory, the baby farm, the new economic class of the " Schlafburschen," and other related material. All this has been pointed out in the analysis of the respective novels. *Drei Weiber,* although it reflects the effects of industrialism upon other social strata, does not introduce subject-matter essentially new to the preceding realistic genre of fiction, except the forty-page account of a dinner and a few incidental topics and types, which we have noted (cf. above, pp. 69–72). *Meister Timpe,* finally, takes up once more, with a much firmer grasp of subject-matter than Kretzer has shown heretofore, the new materials of Social Democracy and the economic significance of the " Gründerjahre." Both topics are treated with originality and strong emphasis. This results in the first adequate portrayal in German fiction of the losing fight of the handicrafts against the factory-system.

But while Kretzer's contribution to naturalism lies primarily in the introduction of new subject-matter, it must be emphatically denied that " realism of subject-matter . . . in conjunction with social concepts constitutes the sole merit of Max Kretzer's novels." [1] Our study has demonstrated that Kretzer's development in technique has been continuous, from the only semi-naturalistic treatment of

[1] Richard M. Meyer, *op. cit.,* p. 797. — A similar charge against Kretzer is made by Albert Soergel, *op. cit.,* p. 233, and (indirectly) by Eduard Engel, the only outspokenly hostile critic of Kretzer; cf. above, p. 64, footnote 10. — Cf. also (Appendix I) Kretzer's vigorous refutation of such criticisms: " Einige Leute haben, die Literaturgeschichte fälschend, behauptet, ich hätte den Naturalismus nur ' stofflich ' bereichert . . ." etc.

Die beiden Genossen to the almost completely naturalistic methods of *Meister Timpe.*

This development in technique is threefold. First, there is a gradual change from sensationalism of plot and incident to a more naturalistic form of portrayal. It has been stated that, in contrast to the practice of realistic writers, the full-fledged naturalists shunned sensationalism or, at least, treated what was formerly considered "sensational," as something commonplace.[2] With Kretzer, throughout the five novels analyzed, a gradual diminution of sensationalism has been remarked. This is most clearly revealed in *Meister Timpe.* The climaxes become less and less blatantly conspicuous, from Schorn's murder committed for the sake of "liberté, égalité, fraternité" to the tragic end of the master-turner. It is true that this development is not entirely consistent nor thorough. Critics have assailed with reasonable argument such incidents as the theft which Franz perpetrates in *Meister Timpe.* It must also be admitted that even if the baby farm and the "palais demimondain" in *Die Verkommenen* are faithful reproductions, they are literary exaggerations. But these extravagances represent the exception rather than the rule. Even when we grant them, it must be clearly recognized that on the whole Kretzer has learned to avoid the melodramatic touches of the realistic narrative.

Second, we must consider our author's development in the technique of character-drawing. Beginning with the delineation of typical characters, who are almost puppets, he progresses to the portrayal of human beings who, although still representative, are now highly individualized. On the one end of the scale, there are such figures as Schorn and Rassmann, typifying as they do the good and the evil of the Social-Democratic party; on the other, there is the

[2] Cf. above, p. 7.

figure of the master-turner who is a pathetic figure of personal misfortune and at the same time a representative of the class of German craftsmen and their economic condition. Kretzer achieves the individualizing of this character by presenting in a new light the circumstances of environment. In the preceding novels the conflicts of the characters were as impersonal as the environment which caused them. They impress the reader as a collection of marionettes forced into fixed and inevitable combinations, not by the stress of their own emotions, but by the impersonal constraint of mechanical destiny. Thus, in *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen* much of the significance of the characters is lost because the reader is continually reminded that the daughters of the poor have but one fate. This relentless determinism, to be sure, still controls *Meister Timpe,* but its force is exerted by the pressure of environment and circumstance on Timpe's own mind. The conflicts are no longer physical or external, but psychological; the action is transferred from the milieu to the emotional sphere. This constitutes a new emphasis in technique and anticipates in a measure the concluding phase of naturalism, out of which was to arise the new literary school of impressionism.[3]

The third consideration in appraising Kretzer's evolving naturalistic technique is his style and language. His descriptive powers in isolated scenes of the earliest novels showed great promise which came to fruition in his later work. In order to avoid the impression of a merely subjective evaluation, numerous examples of Kretzer's style have been presented. Generally speaking, his descriptions show a decided improvement in *Meister Timpe.* In this novel, he turns away from the microscopic detail which had weighted his earlier works and becomes more critical and

[3] Cf. above, p. 82, footnote 7.

selective in his choice of details. From the beginning he showed a mastery of one kind of descriptive expression, that which pictures his own early environment. In depicting tavern-scenes, he accomplished his task with the experienced hand of the habitué.[4] He is quite as successful in the portrayal of middle class " Gemütlichkeit." This is seen in the description of the cabaret frequented by Rassmann, of the cellar-saloons of the Wedding quarter, of the various cafés along the Friedrichstrasse, and of the gatherings at Urban's house. Similarly, street-scenes, tenement houses and their sordid surroundings, the interior of proletarian homes, the Social-Democratic meeting in *Meister Timpe,* all afford good examples of Kretzer's naturalistic technique. It is in descriptions of this kind that our author is at his best; the present writer would pronounce Kretzer's style in such passages distinctly superior to that of the majority of the early naturalists. No such favorable commentary, however, can be made on Kretzer's general treatment of dialogue. Here he is exposed, more often than not, to the charge of using " bookish German." [5] Yet there are several noteworthy exceptions to this statement. If they are but few in number, their significance lies in the fact that they are the first of their kind. The racy conversation of that arch-rogue, Leisemann, the talk of " tall Tine," the humorous remarks of the two " toughs " in the theater, and several shorter specimens of genuine Berlin dialect and slang scattered throughout the five novels anticipate most successfully

[4] In *Wilder Champagner, op. cit.,* pp. 1–14, written in 1919, Kretzer recalls with evident pleasure no less than fourteen " Weissbierkeller," mentioning, as he expressly says, only the more important of this class. In the same collection of reminiscent sketches, he enumerates and describes, with intimate knowledge of their habits of life and philosophy, a great number of typical waiters (*Der Kellner,* pp. 128–142).

[5] Cf. above, p. 48.

the practice of the later "Konsequenter Naturalismus." This is the third important contribution which Kretzer made toward naturalism. None of the other early naturalists had made even an attempt in this direction; nor, for that matter, had the Berlin dialect been presented before in German fiction with a degree of fidelity even comparable to Kretzer's. The outstanding examples of this contribution of Kretzer's have been reproduced above.[6]

We now turn from Kretzer's technique to the thought content. As a social thinker he develops from an immature to a mature grasp of economic problems. This is borne out by comparing the sociologic content of *Meister Timpe* with that of the preceding novels. A comparative résumé from this angle shows that his practice, in the early novels, of seizing upon unimportant or partial aspects of social problems slowly diminishes. Thus, when he wrote *Meister Timpe,* he was able to treat a significant problem in its proper perspective. To illustrate this, we recall the place that socialism occupies in *Die beiden Genossen.* Despite the fact that this novel recommends itself by virtue of its socialistic content, the discussion of socialism is limited to those factors in it which affect the lives of the main characters. The theoretical disquisitions, revolving chiefly around the communistic conception of free love, are unduly exaggerated and often seem quite irrelevant. Similarly the two "Berliner Sittenbilder," *Die Betrogenen* and *Die Verkommenen,* give incomplete pictures of Berlin life: in one place prostitution, in another drunkenness, in still another

[6] Cf. above, pp. 48, 49, 63. We have noted that after his third novel, Kretzer makes use of this naturalistic device very sparingly. In the novels following *Meister Timpe,* it disappears almost entirely. Evidently, Kretzer came to consider the "naturalistic" dialogue as irrelevant to the true purpose of a story; cf. his statement referring to "eine banale Alltagsspache, die nur scheinbar zur Charakteristik eines Menschen gehört . . ." etc. (See Appendix I)

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avarice. In brief, even though Kretzer's social horizon has by this time considerably broadened, these novels do not appear as a unified whole; they constitute, rather, so many separate stories, each of which takes up and attempts to solve a narrowly circumscribed social problem. Whether through youthful incompetence or lack of insight, these various themes were kept separate; they were not brought together in a continuous flow of relentlessly moving forces. In *Meister Timpe,* a synthesis of these forces is provided, and it is this handling of a significant social situation in its entirety which differentiates the novel from its predecessors. In *Meister Timpe,* then, Kretzer's social philosophy achieved its maturest expression. This fact furnishes us with another means of differentiation.

The early works, by their tendency to analyze single sources of evil, preached as many violent sermons, either directly or at least by implication. Even if no program of reform was stated, it seemed as though the author felt the burning necessity for reform. In *Meister Timpe,* however, no panacea is offered for the evils of mass production. One may, to be sure, still hear the rippling of a strong undercurrent of sympathy with the master-turner, but sermonizing is avoided. An attempt is made, on the whole successfully, to let facts speak for themselves. If Kretzer has not been able to maintain a consistently impersonal attitude toward *Meister Timpe,* the reason is to be found not in the technical shortcomings of the author, but in the temperament of Kretzer the man, which is fundamentally sympathetic.[7] In *Meister Timpe,* in strong contrast to his earlier

[7] Cf. Appendix I: "Das ist es auch, was mich . . . so erheblich von Zola unterscheidet, dem das kalte Seziermesser alles war, nicht aber der Arzt, dessen Hand es zum Heile führt und dessen Seele bei aller erworbenen Technik doch zittert bei dem Gedanken, daß seine Kunst versagen könne. Ich glaube das Richtige zu treffen,

works, Kretzer tries to see his hero's fate as a neutral observer, to record hard and fast facts objectively, to be "scientific."[8] This, the "scientific" method of treating life, was to be the avowed aim of naturalism; it is forecast in *Meister Timpe*.

It is therefore not only in point of subject-matter, but also in point of technique and social philosophy that Kretzer contributed largely to the growing concept of naturalism. Of these three contributions, subject-matter holds the first place, and in this respect Kretzer exerted his strongest influence on contemporaneous and later naturalists. To the young literati of the early eighties, our author was indeed a figure of great interest: "Holz and Schlaf, Gerhart Hauptmann, and the subsequent writers of social novels and dramas may indeed be said to have travelled along this road."[9] Although he never affiliated himself with any one of their little groups or cliques,[10] he came into personal contact with many aspiring young authors who were attracted by the fame of his social novels and sought his acquaintance. So Hermann Conradi, perhaps the most typical figure in the new Storm and Stress, harbored, according to his own confession, "no less an ambition than to outdo Max Kretzer."[11] And Carl Bleibtreu, whose *Revolution der Literatur* was the clarion-call of the coming literary movement, proclaimed in 1885 that not until Kretzer's appearance "have such power of picturing the soul, such ruthless

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wenn ich behaupte, daß hinter meinen Figuren immer der *Mensch* Kretzer steht, nicht bloß der Autor . . . ," etc.

[8] Cf. above, p. 9.

[9] F. Kummer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 329.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Hermann Conradis Gesammelte Schriften.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Paul Ssymank und Gustav Werner Peters, München und Leipzig, 1911, I, cviii.

energy and audacity in depicting the most fearful misery and sin . . . been known in German literature." [12] This extravagant praise of Bleibtreu's was, to be sure, greatly modified some twenty-seven years later in his *Literaturgeschichte,* but even here the critical representative of Youngest Germany stoutly maintains the predominating importance of Kretzer's rôle, stressing his great significance as a pathfinder: " . . . the history of literature must always remain cognizant of this fact." [13]

But in gauging the probable influence Kretzer had on his literary generation, special significance is to be attributed to his friendship with Gerhart Hauptmann, who " for a long time was strongly impressed by Kretzer the author and Kretzer the man." [14] This friendship — Hauptmann was then only twenty-four years of age — no doubt left a deep imprint on Hauptmann's mind; his early works (*Die Weber,* 1892; *Hanneles Himmelfahrt,* 1893) are, like Kretzer's, expressions of sympathy with the economically oppressed. No doubt, to Gerhart Hauptmann, as well as to naturalists of less importance and fewer accomplishments, it was the new social vistas opened to them in Kretzer's early novels which attracted their attention and stimulated their endeavors. For here they found, for the first time, the pressing social problems of their day recorded in minute detail and with an intimate knowledge of proletarian life — a knowledge, moreover, that obviously had been gained in the school of experience. The introduction, therefore,

[12] Carl Bleibtreu, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

[13] Carl Bleibtreu, *Geschichte der Deutschen National-Literatur von Goethes Tode bis zur Gegenwart,* Berlin, 1912, II, p. 99.

[14] F. Kummer, *op. cit.,* p. 192. — Cf. also A. von Hanstein, *op. cit.,* p. 164, where Hanstein refers to Hauptmann as a " Kretzerschwärmer." See also M. Kretzer, *Wilder Champagner, op. cit.,* p. 102, in which Kretzer speaks of his close association with Hauptmann in 1886.

into German literature, at an opportune moment, of fresh subject-matter that was felt to be of immediate and vital importance, together with the development of a new technique, constitutes the reason for Kretzer's influence on the impressionable writers of Youngest Germany.

We may then safely conclude that the five novels which we have considered do more than merely assure to Max Kretzer the place of a pathfinder in the field of German naturalism; he has remained a vital force to this very day through the sustained popularity of these novels.

APPENDIX I

MEINE STELLUNG ZUM NATURALISMUS

This essay, hitherto unpublished, was generously sent to me by Max Kretzer, with permission to print it. This contribution shows Kretzer's abiding interest in the critical problems of naturalism.

Von
Max Kretzer

Nachdruck verboten

Die bloße Nachahmung der Natur, als welche man den Naturalismus in Kunst und Schrifttum bei Beginn der achtziger Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts auch in Deutschland hinstellte, habe ich niemals befolgt, schon weil die philosophische Auslegung des Naturalismus: er erkenne ein höheres Prinzip über der Natur nicht an, mir gegen mein innerstes, nicht nur ethisches, sondern auch religiöses Gefühl ging, was sich ja so ziemlich in fast allen meinen Büchern offenbart. Das ist es auch, was mich, soweit meine " naturalistischen " Romane in Frage kommen, so erheblich von Zola unterscheidet, dem das kalte Seziermesser alles war, nicht aber der Arzt, dessen Hand es zum Heile führt und dessen Seele bei aller erworbenen Technik doch zittert bei dem Gedanken, daß seine Kunst versagen könne. Ich glaube das Richtige zu treffen, wenn ich behaupte, daß hinter meinen Figuren immer der *Mensch* Kretzer steht, nicht bloß der Autor, der sie mit berechnender Kühle zu dirigieren pflegt, was ich wohl dem glücklichen (manchmal auch unglücklichen) Umstand zu verdanken habe, daß ich fast allen den von mir geschilderten Menschen, auch den nebensächlichen, etliche Züge von Leuten gegeben habe, die mir auf meinem Lebenswege begegnet sind. Ganz ähnlich ist es mit den Vorgängen, die, einmal im Gedächtnis haften geblieben, im Laufe

der Geschehnisse zu großen, das Schicksal der Menschen gestaltenden Erlebnissen wurden. Einige Leute haben, die Literaturgeschichte fälschend, behauptet, ich hätte den Naturalismus nur "stofflich" bereichert: sie gehören zu jenen Abschreibern, die meine Bücher nie gelesen haben und sich auf das Urteil ähnlicher Ignoranten verlassen. Auf sie paßt im allgemeinen das, was Fielding im "elften Buch" seines unsterblichen "Tom Jones" über "lasterhafte, verleumderische Kritik" sagt, die er so ziemlich mit einem Mord aus dem Hinterhalt auf eine Stufe stellt. Würde es sonst Menschen aus allen Berufen und in allen Ständen geben, die mir immer und immer wieder ihre Anteilnahme an den von mir geschaffenen Werken, in denen sie "das Leben" sehen, aussprechen? Hätte sonst ein Detlev v. Liliencron in einem seiner Bücher nach der Lektüre der "Verkommenen" sich zu dem (vielleicht etwas emphatischen) Ausruf hinreissen lassen: "Diesen Roman hätte Jesus Christus schreiben können!", womit er doch nur den kolossalen Eindruck, den das Buch auf ihn gemacht hat, kennzeichnen wollte — einen Eindruck, der sicher seine Seele tief berührte.

Realismus der Darstellung ist für mich in erster Linie die *Kraft* des Dichters, die Seelenvorgänge im Menschen mit den ihn umgebenden äußeren Vorgängen in Einklang zu bringen und als *wahrscheinlich* hinzustellen. Je größer diese Kraft ist, um so glaubwürdiger werden die Vorgänge erscheinen. In diesem Sinne waren alle großen Dichter Realisten, und einige von ihnen haben es sogar bis zu einem gesunden Naturalismus gebracht, wenn man schon einmal in diesem "Ismus" das möglich Erreichbare an Lebenswahrheit in geistiger Form erblicken will, nicht aber nur einseitig das Hervorheben des Sexuellen und eine banale Alltagssprache, die nur scheinbar zur Charakteristik eines Menschen gehört; denn nicht *wie* er etwas sagt, ist bezeichnend für ihn, sondern *was* er sagt. Hier wird "gewöhnlich" meistens mit "natürlich" verwechselt. Es hat Schriftsteller gegeben (und gibt es auch heute noch), die den Naturalismus in Verruf gebracht haben, weil sie seine Erschöpfungsmöglichkeit mit Pornographie umschrieben, gleichsam den "Poeten" markierten, der seinen Freunden Spülwasser in einem verlockenden Becher zu reichen

gedenkt. Solche Schreiber sind und bleiben unangenehme Zeiterscheinungen; sie können als Auswüchse einer Literaturbewegung bezeichnet werden, die aber dem Edelgedeihen nur vorübergehend Schädlinge sind. Um wahr zu sein, braucht man nicht zu Schlüpfrigkeiten zu greifen, und ein Schriftsteller, der seinen Lesern nichts zu verschweigen weiß, wodurch er ihnen etwas zu erraten aufgibt, ist ein minderwertiger Autor, der seinen Mangel an Gestaltungskraft durch sittliche Schwäche und Geschwätzigkeit zu ersetzen versucht. Eine Venus im Unterrock wirkt immer gemein, und berichten heißt noch lange nicht erzählen. Das Wort ist zwar das Pulver des Dichters, es soll aber nur insoweit verschossen werden, als es zur Erreichung eines *dichterischen* Zieles dient. Es ist gänzlich falsch, den Naturalismus immer als etwas hinzustellen, das man nur der Kunstentwicklung zu verdanken habe: als eine Methode, den Menschen und das, was ihn umgibt, wahrer und glaubhafter zu machen. Der Naturalismus in der Wesensform seines Gestalters war immer schon vorhanden, bei Shakespeare und Fielding sowohl als bei Cervantes, bei Rabelais wie bei Balzac, bei Grimmelshausen wie bei Manzoni (denn Kunst ist und bleibt Persönlichkeit, — nur wenn er einer Epoche, die sich abgewirtschaftet sieht mit äußeren und innerlichen Verlogenheiten, zu einem Sammelbegriff von neuem Sturm und Drang wird, kann man von einer " naturalistischen Bewegung " sprechen, die doch eigentlich nur eine Weiterbildung älterer Vorgänge mit der Bezeichnung Neuentdeckung ist). So war es Anfang der achtziger Jahre in Deutschland, und wenn ich, als Erster, mit meinen sozialen Romanen mich diesem Sturmfahrzeug zum Trotz von Hohlheit und Halbheit anvertraute, so geschah es wahrlich nicht, um die Rolle des wohlpräparierten Sturmvogels zu spielen, sondern aus einem inneren Drang heraus, so wie der ungerecht Gefesselte ihn nach Freiheit empfindet. Ich *mußte* schreiben und dazu brauchte ich nicht erst nach einem neuen " Ismus " zu suchen. Denn alles war *in* mir vorhanden. " Der reine Tor — aus Mitleid wissend," so nannte mich bei Rezensierung meines ersten großen Berliner Sittenromans " Die Betrogenen " Otto Hammann in der Schlesischen Zeitung, — jener Mann, der später im Auswärtigen Amt als Mitberater dreier Reichskanzler eine so

große politische Rolle spielte. Zu dem "Mitleid" kamen dann Erkenntnis und Erfahrung: der weite Blick von hoher Warte über die gänzliche Unvollkommenheit dieser Welt. In seiner "Geschichte der Dreizehn" sagt Balzac einmal: "Es gibt Dichter, welche fühlen, und Dichter, welche sich nur ausdrücken; die ersteren sind die glücklichen." Zu diesen möchte ich mich rechnen.

APPENDIX II

MAX KRETZER'S WORKS

This bibliography was revised by Max Kretzer himself and brought up to September 15, 1928. The works are arranged in the order of their first appearance; in each case, the name and address of the publisher follow. In certain instances, instead of "Aufl." ("Auflage"), a new edition is noted as "Tausend," the number prefixed indicating the total of thousands which the issue had attained at that time. As stated above (cf. Acknowledgment), the bibliography of Kretzer's works which had been compiled originally, was supplemented with numerous additions by Max Kretzer himself. It has thus become virtually his own. For this reason, I deemed it best to follow Kretzer's manuscript.

A. ROMANE

1. *Die beiden Genossen. Sozialer Roman.*
   1. Aufl., 178 S., K. Kohn, Berlin 1880
   2. Aufl., 222 S., C. Reissner, Leipzig 1887
   3. Aufl., 222 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1894
   4. Aufl., 275 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1907
   5. Aufl., 275 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
   6. Aufl., 275 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

2. *Sonderbare Schwärmer.*
   1. Aufl., 2 Bde. m. zus. 541 S., F. Kogge, Berlin 1881
   2. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 407 S., Baumert & Ronge, Grossenhain 1892
   Als Nr. 380 (126 S.) und Nr. 381 (94 S.) in "Kürschners Bücherschatz" erschienen bei H. Hillger, Berlin, (Vergriffen) 1903

3. *Die Betrogenen. Berliner Sittenroman.*
   1. Aufl., 2 Bde. m. zus. 603 S., F. Kogge, Berlin 1882

2. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 372 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1891
3. & 4. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 372 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1898
5. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 372 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
6. Aufl., 1 Bd., 372 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1916
7. Aufl., 1 Bd., 372 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
8. Aufl., 1 Bd., 372 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

4. *Die Verkommenen. Berliner Roman.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 2 Bde. m. zus. 718 S., F. Luckhardt, Berlin ... 1883
3. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 193 & 249 S., mit Bildnis, F. Luckhardt, Berlin 1900
4. Aufl., 440 S., mit Bild, B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1908
5.–7. Aufl., 440 S., mit Bild, B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1911
8.–15. Aufl., 440 S., mit Bild, B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig .. 1914–19
16. & 17. Aufl., 440 S., ohne Bild, B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig .. 1921
18.–20. Aufl., 407 S., ohne Bild, C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

5. *Drei Weiber. Berliner Kultur- und Sittenroman.*
1. Aufl., 2 Bde. m. zus. 529 S., Costenoble, Jena 1886
2. Aufl., 2 Bde. m. zus. 529 S., Costenoble, Jena 1890
3. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1914
4. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1916
5. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1917
6. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
7. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
8. Aufl., 325 S., Paul List, Leipzig (70. bis 80. Tausend) .. 1920

6. *Meister Timpe. Sozialer Roman.*
1. Aufl., 327 S., S. Fischer, Berlin 1888
"Neue Ausgabe," 327 S., ebenda (noch im gleichen Jahr vergriffen) 1891
2. Aufl., 365 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1895
3. Aufl., 366 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
4. Aufl., 347 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1908
5. Aufl., 347 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1914
6. Aufl., 347 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
7. Aufl., 347 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
8. Aufl., 347 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920
9. Aufl., 228 S., Büchergilde Gutenberg, Berlin (1.–18. Tausend) 1927

7. *Ein verschlossener Mensch.*
   1. Aufl., 2 Bde., 481 S., C. Reissner, Leipzig 1888
   2. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., 272 S. und Bildnis, E. Pierson, Dresden 1893
   3. Aufl., 1 Bd., 319 S., ohne Bild, Paul List, Leipzig 1919

8. *Die Bergpredigt. Roman aus der Gegenwart.*
   1. & 2. Aufl., 2 Bde., 494 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1890
   3. Aufl., 417 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1898
   4. Aufl., 417 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
   5. Aufl., 363 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1916
   6. Aufl., 363 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
   7. Aufl., 363 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

9. *Der Millionenbauer.*
   1. Aufl., 2 Bde., 488 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1891
   2. Aufl., 354 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1896
   3.–7. Tausend (Volksausgabe), 254 S., Hellmann, Glogau . 1906
   8.–12. Tausend, Hellmann, Glogau 1908
   13.–20. Tausend, Bd. 716–720 in "Hesses Volksbücherei," Hesse & Becker, Leipzig 1912
   21.–25. Tausend, 391 S., Hesse & Becker, Leipzig 1922
   (in der Serie: "Romane der Weltliteratur.")
   26.–30. Tausend, dto. 1926

10. *Irrlichter und Gespenster. Volksroman.*
    Beginnt 1892 in Heftausgabe zu erscheinen. Mit 58 Heften, 1893 abgeschlossen, dann in 3 Bden. m. zus. 1375 S. und mit Illustrationen, gebunden, und als Bd. 7–9 des "Familien-Bücherschatz. Sammlung guter und volkstümlicher Erzählungen mit Illustrationen" geführt. Weimarer Schriftenvertriebsanstalt, Weimar (Längst vergriffen) 1892–93

11. *Die Buchhalterin.*
    1. Aufl., 2 Teile in 1 Bd. m. zus. 381 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1894
    2. Aufl., 380 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
    3. Aufl., 385 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1914
    4. Aufl., 385 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1918
    5. Aufl., 385 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
    6. Aufl., 385 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

12. *Die gute Tochter.*
1. Aufl., 393 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1895
2. Aufl., 394 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
3. Aufl., 394 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919

13. *Das Gesicht Christi. Roman aus dem Ende des Jahrhunderts.*
1. Aufl., 330 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1896
2. Aufl., 330 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1897
3. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1897
4. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1901
5. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1908
6. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
7. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
8. Aufl., 330 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

14. *Verbundene Augen.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 2 Bde., 230 & 238 S., C. Duncker, Berlin 1899
Unter dem Titel *Mit verbundenen Augen,* 208 S., als Nr. 760 in "Kürschners Bücherschatz" erneut veröffentlicht. H. Hillger, Berlin (Vergriffen) 1911

15. *Warum?*
1. Aufl., 363 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1900
2. Aufl., 363 S., E. Pierson, Dresden 1901
3. Aufl., 363 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1919
4. Aufl., 363 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

16. *Der Holzhändler.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 2 Bde., 292 & 290 S., Fischer & Franke, Berlin 1900
Volksausgabe in 1 Bd., Globus Verlag, Berlin 1919
21.–25. Tausend, 326 S., Paul List, Leipzig 1920

17. *Die Madonna vom Grunewald.*
1. Aufl., 358 S., mit Bildnis, Paul List, Leipzig 1901
2. Aufl., 358 S., mit Bildnis, Paul List, Leipzig 1919
3. Aufl., 388 S., mit Bildnis, Paul List, Leipzig 1920

18. *Die Sphinx in Trauer.*
1. Aufl., 245 S., F. Fontane & Co., Berlin 1903
Erneut veröffentlicht unter gleichem Titel als Bd. 6 der "Bücher des deutschen Hauses," herausgegeben von

Rud. Presber. 301 S., Berliner Buchverlag "Fürs Deutsche Haus," Berlin 1908
11.–15. Tausend, 190 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1921

19. *Treibende Kräfte.*
1. Aufl., 467 S., Verlag Continent, Berlin 1903
Erneut veröffentlicht unter gleichem Titel in der Sammlung "Kronenbücher," 318 S., im Kronenverlag, Berlin 1913
43.–45. Tausend, 321 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1921

20. *Familiensklaven.*
1. Aufl., 376 S., Verlag Continent, Berlin 1904
2. & 3. Aufl., 376 S., Verlag Continent, Berlin 1905
4. Aufl., 311 S., (Volksausgabe) Phönix-Verlag C. Siwinna, Berlin 1919

21. *Der Mann ohne Gewissen.*
1.–3. Aufl., 488 S., Verlag Continent, Berlin 1905
Erneut veröffentlicht unter gleichem Titel im Verlag "Ullstein Bücher," 302 S., Ullstein & Co., Berlin 1911
185. Tausend, dto. 1924

22. *Was ist Ruhm?*
1. & 2. Aufl., 382 S., Verlag Eigen, Charlottenburg 1905
3.–5. Tausend, 382 S., U. Steinitz Verlag, Berlin 1907
6.–15. Tausend, 353 S., Paul Oestergaard, Berlin 1911
(unter "Ausgewählte Werke")

23. *Söhne ihrer Väter.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 478 S., Hellmann, Glogau 1907
3. Aufl., 387 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1912
4.–6. Aufl., 387 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1914–22
7.–9. Tausend, 384 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

24. *Wenn Steine reden.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 478 S., unter dem Titel *Das Hinterzimmer,* C. V. Hellmann, Jauer-Leipzig 1908
3.–13. Tausend, 332 S., in "Ausgewählte Werke," Paul Oestergaard, Berlin (Vergriffen) 1911

25. *Mut zur Sünde.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 324 S., Hellmann, Glogau 1909
3.–5. Tausend, ("Wohlfeile Ausgabe"), Grunow & Co., Leipzig 1912

26. *Reue.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 210 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1910
3.–5. Aufl., 152 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1921

27. *Waldemar Tempel.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 382 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1911
3.–4. Tausend, unter dem Titel: *In Frack und Arbeitsbluse (Waldemar Tempel)*, 311 S., B. Elischer, Leipzig 1921
5.–7. Tausend, unter dem nunmehr beibehaltenen Titel *In Frack und Arbeitsbluse,* C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

28. *Die blanken Knöpfe.*
1. Aufl., 351 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1912
3. & 4. Tausend, 246 S., ebenda (Vergriffen) 1921

29. *Stehe auf und wandle.*
1. & 2. Aufl., 349 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1913
3. & 4. Aufl., 349 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1921
5.–9. Aufl., 230 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

30. *Das Mädchen aus der Fremde.*
1. Aufl., 340 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1913
4.–6. Tausend, 340 S., B. Elischer Nfl., Leipzig 1918
7.–9. Tausend, 250 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1923

31. *Der irrende Richter.*
1. Aufl., 320 S., C. Reissner, Dresden 1914
2. Tausend, 320 S., C. Reissner, Dresden 1914
3. Tausend, 320 S., C. Reissner, Dresden 1922
4.–6. Tausend, 230 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

32. *Was das Leben spinnt.*
1. Aufl., 315 S., (Volksausgabe), Phönix-Verlag Carl Siwinna, Berlin 1919

33. *Fidus Deutschling, Germanias Bastard.*
1.–10. Tausend, 508 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1921
11.–15. Tausend, 508 S., C. Dünnhaupt, Dessau 1924

B. ERZÄHLUNGEN UND NOVELLEN

1. *Schwarzkittel oder die Geheimnisse des Lichthofes. Wahrheit und Dichtung aus den Arbeitsstätten einer großstädtischen Fabrik. Erzählungen.*
   1. Aufl., 175 S., O. Spamer, Leipzig 1882
   2. Aufl., als Bd. 7 in der Serie: "Neue Volksbücher," mit Illustrationen. Haupttitel: "Max Kretzers volkstümliche Erzählungen I." (Vergriffen) ..... o.D.

2. *Berliner Novellen und Sittenbilder.*
   1. Aufl., 2 Bde., 129 & 146 S., Costenoble, Jena 1883
   2. Aufl., 275 S., 2 Teile in 1 Bd., Costenoble, Jena 1888
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INDEX

Alberti, C., 7, 8
Arnim, Bettina v., 24

Balzac, H., 107, 108
Bebel, A., 26
Bismarck, O. v., 1, 25, 72
Bleibtreu, C., 4, 12, 23, 65, 102, 103
Bölsche, W., 9, 10

Cervantes, M., 107
Conradi, H., 12, 102

Darwin, C., 10
Dickens, C., 7, 65
Duncker, F., 15, 16

Engel, E., 64, 96

Feuerbach, L., 3
Fielding, H., 106, 107
Flaubert, G., 7
Freytag, G., 6, 8
Fulda, L., 20

Grimmelshausen, J. J. C., 107
Gutzkow, K., 7, 24

Hammann, O., 107
Hanstein, A. v., 9, 12, 23, 76, 103
Hauptmann, G., 20, 48, 102, 103
Hewett-Thayer, H. W., 90, 92
Holz, A., 6, 8, 48, 102

Ibsen, H., 5

Kirchner, F., 76, 79
Kloss, J. E., 22
Kummer, F., 12, 26, 102, 103
Kretzer, M., *Survey of life and works,* 12–21; *popularity of his works,* 16–18; *Die beiden Genossen,* 22–34; *Die Betrogenen,* 35–50; *Die Verkommenen,* 51–64; *Drei Weiber,* 65–75; *Meister Timpe,* 76–94; *Meine Stellung zum Naturalismus,* 105–108; *bibliography of works,* 109–119

Lamprecht, K., 25, 82
Lassalle, F., 88, 89
Leibniz, G. W., 3
Leixner, O. v., 23
Liliencron, D. v., 106

Manzoni, A., 107
Marx, K., 3, 30
Menzel, A., 49
Meyer, R. M., 22, 24, 47, 48, 84, 96
Mielke, H., 23, 24, 35

Newton, I., 3
Nietzsche, F., 3

Prutz, R., 24

Rabelais, F., 107

Schlaf, J., 6, 8, 48, 102
Schmidt, E., 76
Schopenhauer, A., 3
Shakespeare, W., 107
Soergel, A., 5, 9, 12, 23, 76, 96
Sombart, W., 22
Spielhagen, F., 6, 7, 8, 22, 24, 25
Stammler, W., 5, 12, 23
Strauss, D. F., 3
Ströbel, H., 80
Sudermann, H., 20

Tolstoy, L., 5

Wallner, F., 14
Wedekind, F., 20, 21
Willkomm, E., 24
Wolff, E., 9

Zola, E., 5, 101, 105

Columbia University Germanic Studies

GOZZI IN GERMANY

GOZZI IN GERMANY

A SURVEY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE GOZZI VOGUE IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN ROMANTICISTS

BY

HEDWIG HOFFMANN RUSACK

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To my Mother

Ad astra per aspera

PREFACE

The object of the present study is to survey the rise and progress of the German interest in Gozzi and the reflection of this interest on the stages of Germany and Austria, and in German literature, down to the decay of the Gozzi vogue in the nineteenth century. In covering so long a period and treating material of such magnitude, no claim can be made to completeness. The best I can hope to do is to present in outline the Gozzi vogue, so that quantitatively at least it will stand out in its main features.

So broad a survey would have been impossible without the previous work of Albert Köster, who, in his *Schiller als Dramaturg,* covered at least in brief outline, the eighteenth century, the Romanticists and some of the authors of the nineteenth century. To follow in the path of this master of German literary history, has been at once a discouragement and an inspiration. The skillful manner in which he unraveled the tangled story of Gozzi's entrance to the German stage from contemporary periodicals and prints, is a model for researches of this character. Especially in his analysis of Werthes' translation and of Schmidt's *Hermannide,* and of the early attempts of Schröder and Gotter, as well as the weaker essays of Dyk and others, Köster investigated and exposed with success the early appearances of the *fiabe* (satirical fairy drama) on the German stage. Throughout, his suggestions and particularly his voluminous notes have been guides in seeking reflections of Gozzi in Germany. His treatment of Schiller's version of *Turandot* is so complete that I have been, I think, fully justified in omitting this work entirely from my discussion.

Although one must marvel at the great amount of material which Köster comprehends in the brief space to which he confines himself, his sketch of the Gozzi vogue touches only

its high points. His work is an outline presenting in condensed form certain aspects of the appearance of the fiabe in German literature, rather than a detailed picture of the Gozzi vogue. Many important works which owe their genesis to the Venetian mask dramas do not appear at all; significant chapters, like Gozzi's influence on Hoffmann, are treated with brevity, or like the operas and Singspiele of the end of the eighteenth century or the minor Austrian dramatists of the early nineteenth, are altogether lacking. It has been my task to trace the movement in detail and to give the resulting picture in perspective. This has been done in the main by the use of contemporary periodicals, plays and librettos. Although it has not been possible to find all of these, I have been able, thanks to the libraries of Venice, Munich, Vienna, Berlin and Hamburg, to examine personally nearly all of the sources mentioned.

The first part of the work is, in the main, a survey of Gozzi on the German stage, from the earliest adaptations in the 1770's down to the beginning of the twentieth century. While, as I have stated, no claim is made to completeness, the list is as exhaustive as a wide examination of contemporary sources permits. If here and there the contents of the various works have been retold on a somewhat liberal scale, it is because the plays and librettos cited are very difficult of access and few users of this study will be able to consult them. Contemporary criticism has been adduced so far as possible, in order to give a picture of the attitude of the time toward Gozzi, and of the adaptations from his works. While, as has been said above, it has been thought best to omit Schiller, the most distinguished adapter of Gozzi to the German stage, I have found it necessary to devote a chapter to Goethe, whose debt to Gozzi has thus far received no detailed attention.

The latter part of the work is devoted to a somewhat more intensive study of the three Romanticists to whom Gozzi

made an especial appeal. Certain definite tendencies of the Romantic movement harmonize particularly with the spirit of the fiabe. Gozzi's staunch support of the popular form of the national drama, his use of the fairy drama for satire, thus combining the popular with the satirical, could not fail to please a group of poets who felt a yearning for the simple and natural, while quivering under the discord between their ideals and the facts of contemporary literature and life. Men like Tieck and Hoffmann preferred to think of the fiabe as a spontaneous, sincere product of conditions similar to those among which they were living and suffering. The caustic humor of Gozzi wakened a responsive chord in their bosoms and they set him on a pedestal beside Aristophanes. In view of this, the method of procedure here has been more intensive than in the earlier chapters, and in place of a mere survey, I have sought to show in detail how thoroughly the Italian master was absorbed by his German admirers. Particularly in the case of Hoffmann—this "malende Gozzi," as Jean Paul calls him—the fiabe became a part of the psychological texture of Märchen fancies.

I wish to express my great obligations to Professor Robert Arnold of the University of Vienna; to Dr. Gregor, Dr. Max Pirker, and Fräulein Brettschneider of the National Library, Vienna; to Professor Schnorr von Carolsfeld of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; and to Dr. Wahl and Dr. Berg of the Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg, for their very kind assistance in aiding my researches. And especially do I wish to thank Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Columbia University, New York, without whose unfailing enthusiasm, encouragement, and inspiration this dissertation would never have been written.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

CARLO GOZZI AND HIS WORK

An outline of Gozzi's dramatic work. Impromptu comedy: An analysis of the fiabe 1

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF GOZZI TO THE GERMAN STAGE

Il puntiglio amoroso. Lessing's interest in Gozzi. Werthes' translation. Schmidt's *Hermannide.* Schröder and Gotter 21

CHAPTER II

GOETHE AND GOZZI

Early interest. *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit.* Schiller and *Turandot.* Continued interest 45

CHAPTER III

THE SPREAD OF THE GOZZI VOGUE

Reinecke's *Zeim, König der Schutzgeister.* Joh. Gottfried Dyk. Werthes as playwright. Sacco's *Triumph der Tugend.* Schletter's *Karl von Freystein* and *Philosophische Dame.* Zimdar's *Glückliche Bettler.* Mazzola's *Singspiel.* Other opera librettos; Ramberg's *Rabe;* Vulpius; Rambach 56

CHAPTER IV

GOZZI ON THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN STAGE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. The first decade 72

Schiller's *Turandot* and its effects. Franz Horn's critique. G. A. Wagner's *Rabe.* Zapf's *Scheheristany.* Carl Streckfuss. Ludwig Robert's *Sylphen.* Hitzig's Italian edition of the fiabe. Reichardt's *Blaue Ungeheuer.*

2. The Austrian Dramatists 82
Grillparzer's *Rabe.* Schreyvogel. Bärmann—*Die Seelenwanderung.* Hortschelt's *Silberschlange.* Graf von Riesch. Wenzel Trembler. Raimund. Gläser's *Heliodor.* Richard Wagner. Other adaptations.

CHAPTER V
THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo. Brüll's *Die Bettler von Samarkand.* Nessel's *Turandot.* Paul Heyse. Graf Baudissin. Operatic versions of Donna Diana. Volkmar Müller. Further interest in *Turandot.* W. Kastner's *Venezianische Liebesabenteuer.* Karl Vollmoeller's and Max Reinhardt's Extravaganza of *Turandot.* Foreign versions of the fiabe. Résumé..... 104

CHAPTER VI
GOZZI AND LUDWIG TIECK

Influence on Tieck's early work. *Peter Lebrecht* and "I Contrattempi." The *Volksmärchen. Blaubart.* "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart." The satirical dramas: *Der gestiefelte Kater; Prinz Zerbino; Das Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald; Die verkehrte Welt.* Fading of influence after 1798. Tieck's critical attitude toward Gozzi. *Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren.* Gozzi and Goldoni. The masks. Résumé..... 117

CHAPTER VII
GOZZI AND CLEMENS BRENTANO

The fairy-land "Vaduz." The *Märchen:* "Liebseelchen"; *Die Lustigen Musikanten; Die Romanzen vom Rosenkranz.* Minor allusions. Reichardt in Cassel..... 139

CHAPTER VIII
GOZZI AND E. T. A. HOFFMANN

Admiration of Hoffmann for Gozzi. *Der Dichter und der Komponist.* Opera librettos: *Seltsame Leiden eines*

Theater-Direktors; Nachrichten von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza; Prinzessin Brambilla; Prinzessin Blandina; Signor Formica. Hoffmann's prose tales. *Kater Murr* and the Kreisler biography. *Der Zauberspruch.* Résumé..... 144

CONCLUSION

The attraction of Gozzi's novel plays for German writers and dramatists of the eighteenth century. The German Romanticists and the satiric fairy drama. Use of the fiabe as opera librettos. Gozzi's position in German literature 173

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Editions in Italian of the works of Gozzi, chronologically arranged 176
II. Foreign translations and adaptations of the works of Gozzi 177
III. General bibliography 182
IV. List of theatre-journals, almanachs, etc..... 186

INTRODUCTION

CARLO GOZZI AND HIS WORK

Carlo Gozzi was born in Venice on December 13, 1720, as the sixth of the eleven children of Jacopo Antonio Gozzi and Angela Tiepolo Gozzi, both of excellent family.[1] The parents lived the extravagant, nonchalant life of the aristocracy of decadent Venice, exhausting present supplies without heeding the future. The older children were given a fairly good education. As the younger ones grew up, however, the lack of funds grew more and more apparent, and since outward display had to be maintained at all costs, the children were left pretty much to their own devices. However, excellent moral precepts and an orthodox, even though formal, observance of religious ceremonies were taught them by their father. They became proficient in fencing, dancing, and horseback riding. Performing in private theatricals at home was one of their chief amusements.[2]

A strong literary tendency was inherited from both sides

[1] The Gozzi family were "cittadini originari" of Venice and "Conti di Terra Ferma": that is, their title of "Count" seems to have depended upon the fact that they held lands in feudal tenure within the Venetian state. The mother was descended from one of the oldest and most aristocratic families in Venice. Cf. Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie inutili,* ed. by G. Prezzolini, I, 26-27.

It may not be amiss to draw attention here to Gozzi's picturesque memoirs, which he entitled sardonically: *Memorie inutili della vita di Carlo Gozzi, scritte da lui medesimo e pubblicate per umiltà,* a most interesting and valuable document, in that it draws a graphic picture of the life of Venice during the decadent period prior to the French Revolution. This has been the chief source for the present sketch of Gozzi's biography. It is largely the basis for the biographical material contained in Ernesto Masi's masterly sketch of Gozzi's life, as well as for G. B. Magrini's excellent work: *I tempi, la vita e gli scritti di Carlo Gozzi.* It has been rendered freely into English by J. A. Symonds in his own entertaining style. Cf. Bibliography.

[2] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. II.

of the house and came to fruition both in Gasparo,[3] who gained lasting fame in Italian letters, and in Carlo, who was destined to make the name of Gozzi internationally known. As a boy he devoured avidly every book that came within his reach and incessantly scribbled rhymes modelled upon his omnivorous reading. To form a good literary style was Carlo's aim even when young. His precocious literary gifts caused the family to regard him as a young prodigy, and to applaud heartily his early flights of fancy.

A cruel stroke of apoplexy, which laid low Jacopo Gozzi, depriving him of speech although leaving him in full possession of his mental faculties, contributed to the rapid downfall of the family fortunes.[4] This decline was further accelerated by the marriage of Gasparo to the romantic poetess, Luigia Bergalli, who, abetted by the Countess Gozzi, undertook to manage the monetary affairs of the family without having the slightest comprehension of the principles of business or household economy. The situation became intolerable to Carlo, and with the aid of his maternal uncle, Almoró Cesare Tiepolo, he joined as volunteer the forces of Girolamo Quirini, Provveditore Generale for Dalmatia and Albania.

The account which Carlo Gozzi has given of the three years spent in these Venetian provinces is full of vivid interest for its descriptions of the country, the people, the routine of existence and the pastimes of the young scapegrace soldiers in times of peace. This experience, rich though it was in opportunities for the development of character, revealed to Gozzi that his natural bent was for literature and not for a military life. At the end of the period of enlist-

[3] The works of Gasparo Gozzi are found in many of the large libraries (cf. Library of Columbia University, New York). Frequent mention is made of Gasparo by Carlo in his memoirs, as well as by other contemporary Venetian writers. Cf. *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. III.

[4] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. IV-XIV incl.

ment he returned to Venice, enriched by the memory of exciting and romantic experiences and by friendships such as that of the noble Innocenzio Massimo,[5] which was to endure until death.

When Carlo returned home, the Gozzi family was on one of its country estates in Friuli. Here his troubles began in earnest. He found his father absolutely helpless,[6] the family's financial affairs in the inefficient but arbitrary hands of his mother and sister-in-law, and the entailed property sold for the lives of the present owners for paltry sums with which to meet current extravagant expenditures. In short, he was faced with a general condition of havoc and ruin. He set to work as soon as possible to unravel this seemingly hopeless Gordian knot of entangled business affairs, only to find himself hampered and constantly obstructed in his endeavors by the very people whom he was trying to benefit. After the sudden death of his father, it was deemed advisable to divide the residue of the estate, Carlo continuing its administration throughout the greater part of his life.[7]

The strain of his harassed existence young Gozzi relieved by an ever-growing interest in literature. This led him to become a member of the "Accademia de Granelleschi,"[8] an organization of Venetian aristocrats and literati which strove to cultivate a proper, classical style in Italian literature. It vented its wrath particularly upon innovations in the theatre, attacking directly the two leading dramatists of the time: the Abate Pietro Chiari, whose pompous, bombastic, pseudo-erudite drama provoked just criticism from the academician classicists; and Goldoni. Carlo Gozzi's mordant pen soon

[5] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. IV-XIV. Innocenzio Massimo, a noble of Padua, was enrolled as captain of the halberdiers. Gozzi speaks with sincere affection throughout his memoirs of this lifelong friend.

[6] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. XV-XVI.

[7] Throughout the *Memorie inutili,* Gozzi treats at length of his family affairs.

[8] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. XXXIII.

made Chiari the principal protagonist and polemist in this literary war, which raged between the years 1756 and 1761. He dealt his opponents trenchant blows in a series of satirical pamphlets: *Tartana degl' influssi per l'anno bissestile 1757,*[9] *Il teatro comico,*[10] and *Fogli sopra alcune massime del genio e costumi del secolo dell' Abate Pietro Chiari e contri i Poeti Nugnez de' nostri tempi,*[11] as well as in a host of minor writings.

Gozzi's attacks were of special virulence because the two popular playwrights above mentioned had declared themselves against the "Commedia dell' Arte," the improvised comedy, which had fallen upon evil days. This popular form of entertainment had noble traditions as a creation of national dramatic art, but had degenerated to such an extent in Venice that it had become a positive scandal to the drama. Thus Chiari and Goldoni were justified in trying to abolish it, particularly the latter, who wished to substitute for it a really high type of comedy of character and manners. Their attacks, however, came at a time when the old national comedy was struggling to revive itself. There existed at that time in Venice a group of impromptu actors, the Sacchi troupe, whose really excellent performance of work of the type of the Commedia dell'Arte merited applause, yet who were in danger of starvation on account of the disapproval roused by their opponents.

This situation gave Gozzi his opportunity, when, at the height of the controversy just referred to, Goldoni proudly pointed to the huge crowds which nightly flocked to enjoy his plays as sufficient proof of their essential value, and loftily challenged Gozzi to produce something equally attractive.[12] The latter, stung to the quick, retorted that

[9] Parigi, 1757.

[10] Classe IX, Cod. 327, at the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

[11] Colombani, 1761. Cf., for the three books above mentioned, *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. XXXIV.

[12] *Memorie inutili,* Chap. XXXIV, p. 229.

crowded theatres were no criterion at all by which to judge the merits or demerits of a play, but pledged himself to draw still larger crowds by staging the puerile fairy tale of *The Love of the Three Oranges.*[13] The mocking laughter which greeted this retort drove him to make good his boast. Accordingly he composed the outline of the play, as it has come down to us, and presented it to the Sacchi troupe, who then produced it at the theatre San Samuele at Venice during the Carnival of 1761.[14]

Several factors contributed to the instantaneous success of the production. Its novelty and unexpectedness, as well as the biting yet ludicrous parodies on the plays of Chiari and Goldoni which it contains, created an utterly unlooked-for furore, which overwhelmed the two idols of the public. The amusement-loving Venetians, lulled into a false sense of political security by their rigidly paternal government, living in a mad whirl of gaiety and ready to accept as matter for serious public debate the most absurd trivialities, were particularly susceptible to this kind of spectacular performance, which furnished them with ample scenic effects and clever acting. The playgoers flocked to the theatre San Samuele, the newspapers acclaimed the unexpected phenomenon, and press and public hooted down the attempt of Gozzi's adversaries to depreciate the immense success.[15]

L'amore delle tre melarance was followed in short order by nine other fiabe: *Il corvo,* which was first produced at the Royal Theatre of Milan during the summer of 1761, and in Venice in October of the same year;[16] *Turandot,* January 22, 1762; *La donna serpente,* October 29, 1762; *La zobeide,*

[13] *Ibid.,* Chap. XXXIV.

[14] *Ibid.,* Chap. XXXIV.

[15] *Ibid.,* II, Chap. I.

[16] These data are based on information found in the "ragionamenti" which precede the fiabe in the original Italian editions, not accessible in this country. The gist of them is to be found in G. B. Magrini, *I tempi, la vita, e gli scritti di Carlo Gozzi,* pp. 202-21.

presented for the first time at Turin, August 10, 1763; *I pitocchi fortunati,* July 29, 1764; *Il mostro turchino,* December 8, 1764; *L'augellino belverde,* in January, 1765; and *Zeim, re de' genj,* November 27, 1765.[17] All were hailed with enthusiasm by audiences of Venice and the neighboring cities.

These fairy-dramas, that were the incidental result of literary warfare, and which employed to advantage five of the masks so admirably suited to the principal actors of the Sacchi troupe, were not the spontaneous productions of an ardent imagination fired by enthusiastic ideals of art. They were, rather, conceived in a satirical and polemical spirit. They furnished their author with a merry pastime which confuted his adversaries and annihilated their prestige with the theatregoers, while at the same time providing an excellent way of enriching his friends and protégés, the comic actors. The immediate result of the meteor-like apparition of Gozzi's fairy dramas was to oust both Chiari and Goldoni,[18] the latter only temporarily however, from their vaunted seats of pride. The former retired to Brescia,[19] while Goldoni went to Paris,[20] never to return to his beloved Venice. Gozzi and the Sacchi troupe were left to reign supreme.

The clever playwright's account of his friendship with the genial, yet childlike comedians of the company, a friendship which lasted without interruption for twenty-five years, is full of interest, revealing most vividly the conditions of Venetian life prior to the French Revolution. In the midst of these Gozzi stands as an arch-conservative, whose reaction to the radical ideas of the French philosophers, infiltrating into his native state, forms a strong undercurrent in the

[17] Except when otherwise stated, the première was in each case at Venice.

[18] *Memorie inutili,* II, Chap. IV.

[19] J. B. Magrini, *op. cit.,* p. 206.

[20] *Memorie inutili,* II, Chap. IV. Cf. Goldoni's *Memoirs.*

Memorie. A liaison which he had with the leading actress, Teodora Ricci, and the quarrels arising thence, which involved the voluntary exile and premature death of a Venetian Secretary of State, Antonio Pier Gratarol, as well as the slow disintegration of the troupe itself, caused him to sever connections with the comedians, to whom he had proved a loyal friend, a staunch supporter, and a generous Maecenas. Not content with having bestowed upon them his ten fiabe, he adapted for them a very large number of Spanish plays.[21]

The conclusion of his story is soon told. Radical political changes in his native state that were but a reflection of the dramatic events which were convulsing Europe, the influx of new ideas to the almost utter exclusion of all the ideals that he had held dear, and the gradual passing away of his friends and relatives, undermined his love of life. These changes and the startling rapidity with which his former dramatic successes fell into utter oblivion during and after the years of revolution, caused Gozzi to disapprove of all that had happened.[22] Alone, unhappy, attending to the minute details of daily existence, he spent the last years of life in obscurity and was released by death on April 4, 1806, at the ripe age of eighty-six. A true child of the Venice of his time, he embodied in himself and in his works the good and the bad qualities of the period: he was a loyal citizen, a brilliant if shallow writer, wholly wrapped up in the minutiae of his daily life and in literary strife, without showing any realization of the importance of the tremendous events which were shaking the very foundation of society. His chief aim was to provide amusement for his beloved Venetians, for the citizens of the already impotent Queen of the Adriatic, who

[21] The last of these, *Le droghe d'amore,* precipitated the Gratarol tragedy. Gozzi has a very full account of this episode in his *Memorie inutili,* which were written to serve as an apology and exoneration of the part played therein by the author.

[22] Cf. *Memorie inutili,* Part III; also Ernesto Masi, *Le fiabe,* Introduction, p. clxxxix.

cared nought for the wars, the distant thunder of which must have reverberated in their ears, but who garnered a childish pleasure from masks, festivals, banquets, and finally from the fiabe of Carlo Gozzi!

During the last years of the sixteenth century there appeared in Italy a type of dramatic art known as the Commedia dell' Arte all' Improvviso[23] which spread the reputation of Italian actors far beyond the confines of their native land. With the brilliance of a meteor this genre flashed upon the theatrical firmament—and disappeared almost as rapidly.

The two essential features of the Commedia dell' Arte are improvisation and fixed characters, known as *masks.* In 1567 the first company of professional comedians appeared in Mantua. They refused to adhere to the lines of a certain, definite text, preferring to give free rein to their inspiration. Within a prearranged framework which indicated their entrances and exits and outlined the principal ideas of each scene, they improvised their dialogue, the unexpected turns of which delighted their audiences. To understand how such a faculty of improvisation could be continued with constant variations by a troupe of actors, it must be borne in mind that each actor represented a fixed, given type, which was always the same; that he became one with it, that he could represent no other, and that he used its language, its dialect constantly. When a stock character was thus created, answering to some general or provincial type, and had gained the favor of the public, other actors, presenting similar characters in other troupes, would indorse it and adapt it for themselves, with modifications.[24]

[23] It was also known as the "commedia non scritta," "commedia a soggetto," "commedia improvvisa." Its common title was "Commedia dell' Arte," however. Cf. J. A. Symonds, introduction to the *Memoirs of Carlo Gozzi;* also, Henri Hauvette, *Histoire de la littérature italienne;* and Goldoni's *Memoirs.* Maurice Sand, *Masques et Bouffons,* gives the biographical data of many of the improvising actors.

[24] Cf. Henri Hauvette, *Histoire de la littérature italienne.*

Usually these masks were stock types of the various provinces of Italy. Thus arose "Pantalone," the worthy, shrewd, kindly, withal simple and childlike, Venetian merchant; thus the Bolognese "Doctor," the Italian prototype of Mrs. Malaprop, always ready to show off his erudition and always making the most preposterous errors. Bergamo supplied the twin brothers "Arlecchino" and "Brighella," the former lightheaded, gay, naïve, foolish, pliable, like quicksilver, always moving, and amusing the audience with his uncouth remarks. "Truffaldino," created by the great Sacchi, the delight of all who saw him, was but an adaptation of Arlecchino. His brother Brighella is more cunning and knavish; he is a rogue, a coward, yet clever. He became particularly popular in France where he gained fame as "Sganarelle," "Frontin," and finally attained immortality as "Figaro." Naples contributed "Pulcinella," the burlesque buffoon; stammering, dishonest "Tartaglia," developed advantageously by Gozzi; and that boisterous braggart, the "Captain."[25] All seven of these wore masks and had definite costumes. Tuscany furnished the lovers and the soubrette or servetta, a modification of which is the Venetian "Smeraldina," the witty, keen, deft maid. They, however, wore no masks, and assumed costumes in keeping with the characters they were impersonating.

Manifold were the variations to which these types lent themselves. Gozzi employed the following: kindly, shrewd Pantalone; crafty Tartaglia; knavish Brighella; the clown Truffaldino, and the *servetta* Smeraldina, whose character varies with the fables. Gozzi raised the status of the masks by making them integral parts of his fiabe instead of merely accidental fun-makers. He refined their character considerably: for instance, he changed Pantalone from a rascally merchant into a shrewd yet kindly personality occupying high

[25] These types were used effectively by Molière, Lesage, Beaumarchais, and others.

offices of state. He rendered all the masks more pleasing than they had been heretofore, and at the same time made them the vehicle of his satire as well as of his didactic purpose. As his mouthpieces, yet quite in keeping with their character, they were able to discharge many a mordant shaft of satire which pierced the weak points in the armor of his adversaries. His method of procedure is shown in the subsequent synopsis of *L'amore delle tre melarance*.[26]

Each of these comic actors had a repertoire of phrases, sentences, maxims, puns and tirades, corresponding to the type he was impersonating; to these were added contemporary allusions, to preserve the better the appearance of improvisation. Yet, in spite of these aids, this type of performance exacted the constant exercise of particular qualifications which were by no means easy to command.

From the scenarios which have come down to us it is impossible to reconstitute the vividness of color and vigor of action which marked these entertainments. It is, however, possible to deduce from them the fact that the impromptu comedy was the heir of both classical comedy and popular farce.[27] The captain, for instance, combined traits of the "Miles gloriosus" of Latin comedy with those of the swaggering, swash-buckling Spanish soldiers, the originals of which were swarming all over Italy in the sixteenth century.

The great popularity of the Commedia dell' Arte, which embraced the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, is to be attributed to the real talent of the artists who impressed their personalities upon the various masks: as did, later on, the chief members of the Sacchi troupe. These traveling companies carried their repertoires all over Europe, from Vienna to Madrid, from Munich to London. By degrees, however, the actors of genius were replaced by vulgar mountebanks, simple clowns, who, without

[26] See below, pp. 11-15.

[27] J. B. Magrini, *op. cit.*, p. 161 ff.

trying to maintain an artistic ideal, were content to make their rude public laugh at their stupidities. Rapidly this type of comedy declined to the lowest ebb and practically vanished[28] with the passing of the old régime.

It was for one of the most brilliant of these groups of impromptu actors, united under their Capocomico, Antonio Sacchi, that Carlo Gozzi composed his Fiabe. As the plots of these will be discussed and referred to continually throughout the following pages, it may not be amiss to relate in some detail the contents of those which play an important rôle in German theatrical history.

The first, perhaps the most brilliant, and certainly the most spontaneous, is *L'amore delle tre melarance,* which exists only in the scenario outlined by Gozzi. He chose this as the most puerile of fairy-tales to prove his contention that he could crowd a house and amuse an audience with an old wives' tale.[29]

Silvio, the powerful King of Spades, attired like his prototype on the playing card, speaks with his minister Pantalone, lamenting that his only son Tartaglia, impersonating Venetian audiences, is dying of consumption and boredom. The doctors have given up all hope of recovery if he does not laugh in the very near future. The King therefore orders Leandro, Knight of Spades, his prime minister, to organize public celebrations, offering a prize to anyone who will move the melancholy prince to mirth. But ambitious Leandro, who loves and is loved by Clarice, the niece of the King and incidentally a parody on Chiari's Princesses,[30] hopes with the

[28] Goethe saw the last members of the Sacchi troupe while in Italy. Cf. below, p. 54.

[29] J. A. Symonds gives a complete translation in this fiaba in his *Memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi.* For bibiographical data, see Bibliography, Part III, below.

[30] For instance in such plays as *La presa di Troia; Filosofa ed avventure della Marchesa; L'inganno amoroso,* etc.

aid of martellian verse[81] received from the Fairy Morgana, to cause the lingering death of Tartaglia, and thus to succeed to the royal throne. Princess Clarice, however, goes into a rage when she finds out that Truffaldino, representing the impromptu comedy, is at court, because she fears that his tricks and absurd appearance will rouse the Prince's laughter. Brighella secretly informs the two intriguers that Truffaldino has been sent to the Court by the magician Celio (Goldoni), the enemy of Morgana (Chiari), and the friend of the King of Coppe. The enmity of Morgana and Celio voices the literary feud between Chiari and Goldoni. The lovers are overwhelmed by this news; Clarice proposes poison, fire and sword to kill the Prince, Leandro advocates martellian verse or opium; whereupon Clarice avers that martellian verse and opium are one and the same thing!

The scene shifts to the hypochondriac Prince's apartment. He is seen in the midst of ointments, flasks and spittoons, complaining bitterly of his condition. While Truffaldino is diagnosing the sick man's malady in his own inimitable fashion, sounds of revelry are heard from afar. In spite of all protests, Truffaldino insists on carrying the doleful Prince on his back to the public festivals. Amid varied and graceful scenes the Fairy Morgana, the Queen of Hypochondria, in the garb of an old woman, comes forth to fill a flask at the fountain. Truffaldino upsets her so that she falls very awkwardly and the Prince, breaking into loud and long laughter, is cured. But the Fairy Morgana curses him in martellian verse and arouses in him an intense, irresistible desire to possess the mythical three oranges.

In order to traverse the necessary two thousand miles for the conquest of the oranges, the Prince and Truffaldino procure enormous iron boots and are fully armed. In vain the

[81] The martellian verse is a twelve-syllable line, somewhat like the Alexandrine, owing its name to Pier Jacopo Martelli (1665-1725), who tried, unsuccessfully, to revive it.

King attempts to dissuade them from their undertaking. Weeping and cursing he blames the new comedies for the disobedience of his son.[32] Leandro and Clarice plan how they will spend their time when they reign and each of these plans is a thrust at one of the popular playwrights. Brighella meanwhile upholds the Commedia dell' Arte and the masks.

A new scene opens upon a desert. The magician Celio, the protector of Prince Tartaglia, obliges the Devil Farfarello to appear before him. Their conversation is full of veiled allusions to the two poets who wished to suppress the masks, scenic transformations and incantations. Having heard the ill news concerning his protégé, Celio determines to save Tartaglia at all costs. The latter and Truffaldino suddenly rush forth upon the stage at full speed, urged by a devil who pushes them forward with a pair of bellows.[33] Celio, after vainly trying to restrain the Prince from continuing the enterprise, upon seeing that he is inflexible, provides him with a magical salve to rub upon the gate, which he will find rusty; with bread for the starved dog; with brooms for the baker's wife who sweeps the oven with her breasts; recommends that he stretch out the damp well-rope to the sun, and admonishes him not to open the oranges unless he be near a fountain. With the help of the bellows, our heroes soon arrive at the Court of Creonta, the custodian of the three oranges. When the gate is greased, it opens; the starved dog is appeased with the bread; the cord is dried; the baker's wife has received the necessary brooms, and the

[32] As a matter of fact, in one of Chiari's tragedies, a son has drawn his sword against his father with intent to kill. Gozzi makes this statement near the beginning of Act II. He does not specify in which play this incident occurs.

[33] This is once more a parody on Chiari, who had made some of his characters take enormous trips in ridiculously short spaces of time. In one of his plays, *Ezelino,* he lets his hero cover thirty miles of ground, defeat the enemy, take the city of Treviso and return, in the interval between two scenes of the same act, and has him attribute this extraordinary feat to the spirit and dash of his horse!

Prince happily gains possession of three tremendous oranges. Creonta, enraged, vainly calls upon her recreant henchmen to assist her, utters a wild lament and curse in Pindaresque verse, *à la Chiari,* and is consumed by a flash of lightning.

At the beginning of the third act, Truffaldino, still pursued by the blowing devil, comes running, carrying the three oranges in a bag. He is tormented by extraordinary hunger and thirst, and resolves to eat one of the three oranges, thinking that he can buy another for two cents. Imagine his surprise, when, instead of orange-juice, a beautiful maiden clad in white, issues from the rind, and implores him to give her something to drink or she will die. Truffaldino, in his haste to succor her, fails to see the lake nearby, and resolves to open the second orange to alleviate her thirst, only to have another maiden come forth! Both die of thirst. The Prince arrives, and seeing that the third orange has grown to the size of a pumpkin, opens it and finds a third parched maiden. Of greater presence of mind than his servant, Tartaglia quickly fills with water one of his iron boots and presents it to the Princess, and thus restores the daughter of Concul, King of the Antipodes, condemned with her sisters by cruel Creonta to suffer within the narrow confines of an orange. An amusing love scene between the Prince and Princess Ninetta follows. Swearing that he will marry her at once, he rushes forth to his father's court to complete the necessary arrangements.

Meanwhile, at the behest of Morgana, Smeraldina, in the guise of a Moor, fixes a charmed hairpin into Ninetta's head, which transforms her into a graceful dove. She flies off, while Smeraldina takes her place. The court arrives in all splendor. In dismay the Prince sees the Moor in place of his beautiful Ninetta, but he is forced to abide by his word. Great are the preparations for the wedding feast. Truffaldino has become the royal cook.

A scene between Celio and Morgana is interpolated, cari-

caturing the two rival poets, in which the former uses the forensic language suitable to an ex-lawyer—Goldoni's former profession—and the fairy employs the pseudo-sublime style affected by Chiari. This scene afforded the Venetian audience the most genuine amusement.

The rest of the performance followed the fairy tale closely. Thrice Truffaldino lets the roast burn at the behest of the dove. Finally, however, he and Pantalone succeed in catching it. They find and remove the magic hairpin, and Ninetta once more appears in her natural form. The court, impatient for the next course, enters the kitchen, and the King, scepter in hand, orders Tartaglia and Ninetta to retire to the scullery. Using the hearth as his throne, he condemns Smeraldina to the flames. Celio, however, defends her because she was but a tool of the two real culprits, Leandro and Clarice, whose condemnation he causes. He exhorts Truffaldino to keep far from the Court all martellian verse and its corrupt influence and to amuse his audience with his ready wit and unfailing humor. And at the completion of the marriage feast, all were prepared to live happy ever after.

The stupendous success of the fiaba just outlined has already been pointed out. The plot has been sketched in detail, because incidents drawn thence are mentioned continually in the following pages.

L'amore delle tre melarance was followed by *Il corvo,* based on a tale with the same title from the *Cunto de li cunti,* a collection of fairy-tales by Giambattista Basile.[34] For this play as well as for the following fiabe Gozzi wrote all the lines in full, with the exception of those to be spoken by the masks. These were left in outline, as was customary.[35]

[34] Giambattista Basile (1575-1632) was a native of Naples. He began his career as a military adventurer, but later entered the service of the court of Stigliano Carafa. Urged by the example of Julio Cesare Cortese, he became interested in Neapolitan dialectic literature, and collected fairy tales under the above title.

[35] Cf. p. 8.

The masks spoke in prose, while the rest of the play was written in verse.

In order to save his brother Millo, King of Frattombrosa, from a tragic fate, Gennaro, disguised as a merchant, kidnaps Armilla, the daughter of a powerful prince and magician, Norando. The princess was to bring cheer to the kingdom of Frattombrosa and its ruler, who, while hunting, had killed a raven belonging to an ogre. Armilla was as white as the marble which formed the tomb of the raven; red as the blood of the dead bird; and her eyebrows and hair were as black as its wing. When Norando becomes aware of his daughter's abduction, he falls into a rage: he threatens every ill imaginable, produces tremendous storms and brings about the transformation of Gennaro into a marble statue. Armilla generously kills herself in order to restore him to life. Thereupon, all fates having been propitiated, Norando restores his daughter to life and love, and the kingdom to happiness.

Gennaro furnishes a fine example of brotherly love. For Millo's sake he scours the seas, abducts a maiden, faces the wrath of Norando, and finally endures insults, imprisonment and death. Armilla, though loving her husband ardently, kills herself to resuscitate the unfortunate Gennaro rather than live selfishly with her beloved Millo. There are other fine instances of dramatic interest in this fiaba, such as Gennaro's and Armilla's arrival at court and Millo's outburst of jealous wrath against his brother, who had penetrated by night into the nuptial chamber to fight a monster who was to kill the king. Nor are satiric stabs at Chiari and Goldoni lacking.

This fiaba was succeeded by *Il re cervo*.[36] King Deramo received from the magician Durandarte two gifts, each one

[36] Its source is the "Histoire du Prince Fadlallah, fils du Bon Roi de Mouvel" in the *Cabinet de fées*, Amsterdam, 1785, XIV, 242. Cf. G. B. Magrini, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

invested with a secret charm. The first was a small statue which had the magic power of laughing at any woman standing in front of it who tells a lie, and thus of revealing her real feelings to the possessor of the statue. The king uses it to find an honest, loving wife, and in an exhaustive search some 2,750 maidens fail to pass the test. Finally Angela, the daughter of Pantalone, is found to be sincere, to the great vexation of Minister Tartaglia, who wants her for himself. While hunting, Deramo reveals to Tartaglia the secret of Durandarte's second gift. It consists in a strange verse which, if recited over any dead body, causes the soul of him who pronounces it to pass into the corpse. In order to test the magic of the verse, Tartaglia induces Deramo to recite the magic line near the corpse of a deer and thus to transform himself into an animal, giving Tartaglia the opportunity to pass into the king's fair form. In this guise he hopes to betray Angela, yet his change of shape cannot alter his voice nor his sentiments, and Angela at once grows suspicious. Deramo meanwhile passes from the body of the deer into that of a feeble old man. Durandarte in the shape of a parrot has himself presented as a gift to the queen. Tartaglia, the usurper of the throne, cannot win Angela, who, aided by the magician, recognizes her husband in the old man. Tartaglia consequently is changed into a repulsive monster and Deramo resumes his own body. Again happiness reigns supreme.

Following the enthusiastic reception of this fairy-tale, the next work of Gozzi to be staged was *Turandot,* later to become the favorite of the Germans. Its story is briefly as follows:

Prince Calaf, reduced to the ignoble position of porter and servant, earns a scanty living for himself and his parents who, owing to a dreadful war, have lost their kingdom and become exiles. Through the return to a powerful sultan of his pet falcon, Calaf has obtained for them a comfortable

shelter for their old age. Still quarrelling with fortune, he seeks to ameliorate his lot by fighting under the banner of the Emperor of China. By chance he meets Barach, formerly his tutor, who recognizes him, and who informs him of an immense misfortune which has stricken Pekin. Turandot, the daughter of the Emperor of China, in order to avoid the marriage yoke, has consecrated herself to eternal maidenhood. The Emperor, now growing old and embroiled in war with many kings and princes whose hands Turandot has refused, has been trying to induce her to choose a husband for reasons of state. She finally swears by the great Confucius to marry that prince who succeeds in solving before the Great Divan three riddles which she should propound. Every prince, however, who ventured the trial and failed was to submit to decapitation. Barach shudderingly points out the heads of her former suitors, strung along the walls of the city. Calaf, by mere chance, picks up her portrait and immediately becomes wildly enamored of her. He submits himself at once for trial, in spite of the entreaties of Barach and his wife not to expose himself to certain death.

Act II sees the gathering of the Great Divan. Emperor Altoum, prepossessed by Calaf's charm and personality, vainly attempts to dissuade him from his fatal enterprise, and the great dignitaries of the court second his efforts without avail. Even Turandot herself, struck by Calaf's beauty and appearance, tries to stay his boldness. The Prince is inflexible in his determination, repeating to each argument: "Death I claim or Turandot as wife." Haughty and scornful as she is, Turandot faints in the arms of her faithful slaves when Calaf speedily solves her three riddles. Recovering, she threatens to kill herself upon the altar, rather than submit to an abhorrent marriage. Calaf calms her when he again stakes his life upon the proposition: If on the following day, in the presence of the Divan, she guesses his name, he will forfeit his life and claim upon her; otherwise she is to marry him.

Adelma, a king's daughter, but at present slave to Turandot through fortune of war, recognizes in the Prince the gardener loved secretly by her at her father's court. She exults when she discovers that he is of noble birth and determines to save him from death and to marry him. To attain this, however, she must discover his name for Turandot, who is beside herself, torn between pride and budding love.

All artifices employed to elicit the stranger's name remain fruitless, as do the attempts of a number of slaves sent under various pretexts to the Prince himself. As a last resort Adelma tries to entrap him herself. She enters the apartment, reveals her love openly to him, and tries to persuade him to flee. But Calaf spurns her love and generous offers, for he is capable of fixing his affections upon one woman only. Becoming insanely jealous of Turandot, Adelma insinuates that the Princess, afraid of being again vanquished by him, has ordered his guards to assassinate him at daybreak. Utterly brokenhearted at such perfidy, the Prince exclaims: "O miserable Calaf! . . . Timur, my father!" Thus he has revealed his secret without being aware of it. His fate rests with Adelma.

Again the Great Divan has assembled. Emperor Altoum is full of joy, for he has discovered by means of couriers the lineage of Calaf, and he has great hope for the prosperity of his kingdom under such a son-in-law. But Turandot, who arrives to the sound of a funeral march, reveals the Prince's name. On hearing this, Calaf draws forth a dagger to slay himself, but is restrained by Turandot, who, suddenly throwing herself into his arms, reveals her love, to the joy of all who hear her confession.

Such is the argument of the fiaba which proved one of the most popular in Germany and was destined to be adapted by Schiller himself. Twice later did Gozzi use the motif of the woman averse to marriage: in *La principessa filosofa,* in which Teodora is subdued by the seeming coldness of Cesare of Urghel, and in *La donna contraria al consiglio,* in which

the heroine is restrained from marrying because she has vowed eternal fidelity to her dead fiancé. The former of these has, as we shall see, retained its popularity in Germany to the present day.

For the rest of the fiabe it will be sufficient to indicate the contents in outline.[37]

In *I pitocchi fortunati* the poet shows to what wretchedness a kingdom can be reduced through the administration of unfaithful ministers. A wise king, in order to discover the true state of his subjects, abandons his throne and becomes a beggar and a priest. Thus the iniquities committed in his name are revealed to him. *La donna serpente* and *Il mostro turchino* are examples of conjugal fidelity and love in a world full of strange apparitions and monsters. *Zeim, re de' genj* lauds the constancy, innocence, and faith of a woman. *La zobeide* shows the unhappy fate of an unsuspecting woman married to a fiendish magician, Sinadab, a villain who outbluebeards Bluebeard. Finally there is the fiaba of *L'augellino belverde,* virtually a continuation of *L'amore delle tre melarance,* treating of the twin children of Tartaglia and Ninetta. Under the evil influence of Tartagliona, the queen dowager, the twins were exposed and were saved from certain death only through the kindhearted intervention of Smeraldina, the wife of Truffaldino, the pork-butcher. When they are grown, they prove to be the ungrateful disciples of the philosophers. It is not until human sympathy and love melt their stony hearts that the truth is revealed and all are made happy. Gozzi used this last of his fiabe as the vehicle to express his scorn for the revolutionary ideas which were agitating Europe during the decade preceding the general upheaval.

These are the fiabe which created a furore in Venice between the years 1761 and 1765, and were in the following decades hailed so joyfully in Germany and Austria.

[37] Cf. Bibliography for Italian editions of the fiabe.

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF GOZZI TO THE GERMAN STAGE

It was not until a decade had passed that the plays of Carlo Gozzi, so jubilantly acclaimed by his fellow countrymen, began to be produced in Germany and Austria. The first presentation, so far as shown in the stage literature of the day, was in Vienna. It was that of *Il puntiglio amoroso, "ein komisches Singspiel in drei Aufzügen, die Worte sind vom Grafen Gozzi, die Musik von Herrn Galuppi, sonst Buranello genannt."*[1] Twice during 1774 it was produced in the Theater am Kärnthner Tor, and three times in the famous Burgtheater.[2]

This libretto,[3] printed in Venice, is in Italian, and bears no author's name. Some authorities would attribute it to Gasparo Gozzi,[4] but even though the style of composition differs greatly from that of the fiabe, there is no doubt that, if it was written by either of the Gozzi brothers, its author was Carlo. The plot is that which he later used for *La principessa filosofa,* and is based on a play by Augustín Moreto y Cabaña, *Il desdén con el desdén.*

Moreto's drama is considered by many eminent Spanish to be the best Spanish comedy extant.[5] Its theme is that love reigns supreme in the world, in spite of all sophism

[1] *Almanach des Theaters in Wien,* Wien, 1774.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Acknowledgment for the loan of the little book is hereby made to the Library of Congress in Washington, which was fortunate enough to obtain possession of the text when it purchased the Schatz Collection of Opera Librettos.

[4] Schatz and Wotqueme uphold Carlo Gozzi, while Wiel and Piovano leave the matter open. Schatz Collection 3507. *Catalogue of Opera Librettos before 1800.* Ed. Sonneck. U. S. Library of Congress, I, 906.

[5] Cf. *Collección de piezas escogidas,* formada por Don Eugenio Ochoa, 1840, Paris. IV, 63.

to the contrary. The plot is as follows: The Count of Barcelona has an only daughter, Diana. He wishes her to marry in order that he may leave his estates in the hands of a worthy successor. He organizes, therefore, a tournament, the splendor of which attracts many of the young princes of Europe. To his great sorrow he finds, however, that all his plans are frustrated through Diana's avowed intention never to marry because she hates all men on the ground that knowledge is divine but that love is human, frail, and unworthy of the truly great. In despair her father tells three of the assembled suitors that they are but wasting their time in fruitless endeavor, that Diana's mind is adamant. The three princes, however, are unwilling to accept their dismissal for various reasons: each one thinks that if but given the right opportunity he can win the proud beauty. The Princes of Béarne and Foix frankly base their claim upon their personal charm and wit. Prince Carlos de Urgel, on the other hand, assumes an air of calm indifference. His plan to win the princess reveals a more profound knowledge of human psychology than that of the other two aspirants. Having himself been roused to passion from cool unconcern by the haughty demeanor of Diana and seeing that homage has no effect upon her whatsoever, he makes up his mind to conquer her philosophy by assuming an attitude of scornful aloofness which will wound her vanity. When, therefore, the other suitors declare their intention of remaining, he states that he stays merely to satisfy the etiquette of the day, as contention for the favor of the lady has no attraction for him. Meanwhile he has sent his servant Polilla, the "gracioso," to enter the service of the princess, disguised humorously as a doctor and posing as the sworn enemy of love. An interview is granted by Diana to the princes in which she sets forth her argument with disputatious casuistry. Here Prince Carlos piques her curiosity when he accedes to her views; nay, even goes further than she by asserting that not only does he refuse to love any woman,

but that he does not desire to be loved by one. For the first time in her life Diana has met a man who apparently is impervious to her charms. The experience is distinctly unpleasant. Her pride is aroused, her interest is awakened; she feels that she must vanquish him at any cost. She makes attempt after attempt to break down the impenetrable barrier with which he surrounds himself as with an armor; so great is Don Carlos' self-control that, abetted by his faithful Polilla, he deceives her entirely with regard to the true state of his feelings. Furious, helpless, unable to cope with the glacial nature of this man, Doña Diana finds finally to her great consternation as the result of trying to arouse his jealousy that she loves him with all the ardor of which she is capable. When, therefore, he pretends to aspire to the hand of her cousin, she feels all the tortures and torments of jealousy and yields to Don Carlos who is now free to declare his love and stratagem to her. Of the other two, Prince Gaston de Foix is the only one to go empty-handed, for the Prince of Béarne wins Diana's cousin, Doña Cintia, while her maid Laura makes Polilla happy. Thus pride was vanquished by greater pride.

In *Il puntiglio amoroso,* which follows on the whole the plot of the Spanish comedy as outlined above, the heroine, Rosanna, like Doña Diana, declares war on love:

> Se foste nell' amar solo contento
> Seguace forse anch' io sarei d'amore;
> Ma poi dolore,
> Ma poi furore
> Causa degli uomini
> L'infedelità.
> Povere femmine
> Chi non lo sa![6]

Like Moreto's Prince Carlos, the handsome hero, Florimonte, in order to win her, pretends to scorn her. This arouses her interest in him and finally leads to her surrender.

[6] *Il puntiglio amoroso,* Venezia, Valvasense, 1763.

The secondary characters, Ernesto and Melita, who correspond to Don Gaston and Doña Cintia, two minor characters in the original Spanish version, have here greater significance. Melita is the silly, jealous flirt; Ernesto a fool. They thus act as foils to the principal characters. The maid Laura of the Spanish play has become a typical French "Lisette" (in fact, she is called Lisetta), and the father of Rosanna is in love with her. She, however, scorns him for Giannino, the innkeeper, who has retained many of the characteristics of the "gracioso." The main facts of the plot have undergone little change, though the milieu is very much lower than that of the Spanish comedy.

It seems strange that, if Carlo Gozzi was really the author of this production, it should not have been included among his collected plays. It is also not clear why the devoted advocate of the Commedia dell' Arte, in writing a play for the Carnival of 1763 should have omitted all the masks with the exception of Arlecchino, for it was just at this time that the clever Venetian, at the height of his success, was indeed engaged in writing *La zobeide,* which was produced in August of the same year. The style, also, of the libretto differs essentially from Gozzi's style as he reveals it in the fiabe or in his adaptations from the Spanish. It has none of that grandiose language, none of the plastic imagery which is so pronounced in his other work. The motivation of the action is extremely poor, and psychological analysis is entirely lacking. The libretto is very much under the influence of the French *opéra comique,* yet Gozzi at that very time was heaping derision upon the French influence.

On the other hand, the libretto has a charm of its own. The dialogue is in poetry of the rhythmic quality and lightness of the comic opera, of that type of Italian play which Goethe tried to introduce in his "Singspiel," in which the rhythm of the poetry echoes exactly that of the music, or vice versa, so that the reader who has not the music can

still judge it pertinently by the words. There is none of the mocking satire of Gozzi; everything is accepted naturally, as is customary in such plays.

It must be assumed then that, if the play is by Carlo Gozzi at all, it was written some time before its publication. It seems very much more likely, however, that Gozzi did not write the text. The identity of plots may then have been the reason why the Vienna "Intendanz" ascribed the operetta to the widely advertised Venetian poet, particularly because Gozzi's play *La principessa filosofa* had been staged in Venice successfully in Italian two years before the appearance of this little book.

In 1775 one of the greatest of German authors, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, while traveling in Italy, became interested in the works of Gozzi. A writer in Reichardt's *Theaterjournal* two years later makes the statement that, while in Venice, "Lessing saw *L'amore delle tre melarance* five times, and it was always different, never the same, owing to the peerless acting of the Sacchi troupe. He was irresistibly moved by the original humor and national grace of the Gozziesque masks."[7] Whence this information had been derived it has been impossible to discover. It is not to be found anywhere in Lessing's works or letters. He does, however, record some interest in the Sacchi troupe, for, in the diary of his trip through Italy, two notices regarding it are to be found. Thus, in Pavia, under date of September 9, 1775, he wrote: "Sacchi was in Pavia, he had gone thither with his company from Torino; he played, however, only a farce that evening, for which we did not wait."[8] In his notes on the *Geschichte des italienischen Theaters* he again refers to Sacchi: "In addition to the troupe of Sacchi, which

[7] Reichardt's *Theaterjournal für Deutschland,* Wien, May 21, 1777. Cf. Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 217.

[8] *Lessings Werke, Deutsche National Litteratur,* ed. Lachmann, XIV, 401.

is considered the best, there is another, il capo dei quali è il Lapi, which is said to be quite good also. Of Sacchi's troupe, which is at present in Torino, I have received the following list."[9] Then follow the names of the actors of the company as it was in its prime, including the famous Antonio Sacchi himself; his daughter Angiola; Zanoni, the incomparable Brighella; Fiorilli, who immortalized Tartaglia; and the notorious actress Teodora Ricci, who figures so largely in this part of Gozzi's life. Strange to say, Lessing does not mention once in these notes Carlo Gozzi, though he refers to him in his letters after his return to Germany. From Wolfenbüttel he sent the first volume of Gozzi's works to Eschenburg.[10] A few weeks later he wrote more fully concerning our author to his brother Karl Lessing, in an attempt to dissuade him from undertaking to translate Italian works into German:

> In addition, all others (apart from Albergati) who now write comedies in Italy use their provincial dialects, in which they let the humble characters of their plays speak: Gozzi, for instance, uses Venetian, Carloni the Neapolitan. How you will make out with these, I fail to see. Are you not aware of the fact that the complete theatrical works of Carlo Gozzi are being translated in Switzerland? They have been announced in the *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitung.* A collection of modern Italian plays without these would cut a very poor figure.[11]

The translation referred to by Lessing was that of Friedrich August Clemens Werthes, who rendered into German in five volumes the dramatic works of Carlo Gozzi. This version, which began to appear in 1777 and was completed in 1779,[12] gained great credit for the translator during the last

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 417 f.

[10] G. E. Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften,* Leipzig, XVIII, 153.

[11] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 161.

[12] Friedrich August Clemens Werthes, *Theatralische Werke von Carlo Gozzi, aus dem Italiänischen übersetzt.* Bern, bey der typographischen Gesellschaft. 1777-1779. In fünf Theilen.

two decades of the eighteenth century, and is still the only complete German text. It has been reviewed in detail by Köster,[13] who praises Werthes' fidelity in adhering to the sense of the original, but censures his use of prose instead of the sonorous verse of Gozzi. In spite of this, however, the translator has managed to reproduce the plastic, concrete quality of Gozzi's work, with something of the graphic style and the supernatural atmosphere of the fiabe.

The notice in the *Gelehrte Zeitung,* referred to by Lessing, concerning the approaching publication of the first part of Werthes' translation, a "Notice to the Public," was a modest announcement, with a sketch of the Goldoni-Gozzi feud.[14] The translation apparently aroused immediate interest. Scarcely a year after the notice just mentioned, a most enthusiastic review of the second part was published by the *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung:*

> Gozzi is still admired by the Italians . . . . that Gozzi still maintains his place and has maintained it in spite of the intrigues of the Chiaris and Goldonis and is still the favorite of the nation, serves as a proof that his deserts as dramatist must be real. And so it is, in fact—Gozzi is still the man of genius and power, still has the keen penetrating glance into the human heart, still furnishes his dialogue with wit and vivacity. We have enjoyed thoroughly the second part of his works. . . . . We continue to recommend this Gozzi for study to our young playwrights.[15]

This enthusiasm grew with the issuance of the third part, and is echoed in the same journal twenty-two months later. It begins:

> Gozzi is still our man . . . . we are full of admiration for the powerful mind of this man, which he used to collect, arrange, and execute his trivial subjects; . . . . how truthfully,

[13] A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 163 ff, where the details regarding Werthes' personality are to be found.

[14] *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitung,* April 17, 1776.

[15] *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* February 7, 1778.

how powerfully this poet permits the creations of his fancy to speak!—What is born of the flesh, is flesh, and what is born of the spirit, is spirit!—Perhaps some smile at our fervor!—We cannot help but wish, however, that many of our dramatic writers would read Gozzi immediately after Shakespeare.[16]

The reviewer of the fourth volume continues to glow with enthusiasm: "Gozzi is a man worthy of reverence,"[17] whose "dialogue should surely serve as model to all dramatists: it is strong, fitting, concise, yet vivacious; never does he indulge in stiff, moralizing language, for grand, correct, and splendid as his views may be, he merely outlines them in a few words; even as the art of dramatic poetry demands."[18]

Apparently the faults of Werthes' method and performance to which Köster calls attention were not felt by contemporaries. In reviewing the fifth and final volume of the translation, the Berlin critic writes: "Werthes' manner of translation is known: it is not the most flexible, but recalls to us the real Italian language, and gives an idea of the tone of the author even to that reader who does not understand the original, and therefore deserves to be called good."[19] So popular did Werthes' translation prove, that it justified the printing of a second edition in 1795. Its great drawback was, however, that it was meant for the reading public only. This affected primarily the treatment of the Italian masks, whose words were largely left to the "improvvisatori" by Gozzi. Since the art of improvising had completely died out in Germany, it was evident that these parts had to be worked out in detail for stage production.

Many and varied were the adaptations for the stage to which Werthes' translations gave rise. The first of these was a play called *Hermannide oder die Räthsel. Ein alt-*

[16] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1778. Quoted in part by A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, p. 218.

[17] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1780. [18] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1780. [19] *Idem.*

fränkisches Märchen in fünf Aufzügen,[20] by Johann Friedrich Schmidt, Councillor to the Duke of Weimar, who, in response to a prize contest for original plays sponsored by the directorate of the Court Theatre of Vienna, adopted Gozzi's *Turandot* for this purpose. Schmidt changed the scene of action from the Orient to Franconia, the characters from Chinese nobles to Teutonic heroes. Though the plot is kept intact, the tone of the entire play has become too serious and stilted. All traces of humor, so necessary to Gozzi's type of drama, have disappeared with the removal of the four masks; that elfin touch of lightness which is the chief charm of the original has vanished entirely. One addition made by Schmidt was most disastrous: that of the Prologue, in which, in a vision, a priestess relates the entire plot, past, present, and future, thus making of the play proper but a repetition of what the audience knew already.

This play has been excellently reviewed by Köster,[21] who aptly describes Schmidt's style as "wild, hasty, abrupt," and finds that the arbitrary shortening of the last acts of the play causes a "wild confusion of emotions." "The original has been mutilated to the brevity of an epitome."[22] Köster also shows by internal evidence that Schmidt followed Werthes' translation, and that the original Italian version was unknown to him.[23] *Hermannide* was presented at intervals in Vienna and Berlin during the period of 1777-1779, after which it disappeared entirely from the stage.[24]

The great actor and playwright, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, whose keen vision immediately discerned the weakness of *Hermannide,* while recognizing the possibilities of *Turandot,* wrote from Hamburg in September, 1777, to his friend, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter: "A propos of C. R.

[20] Johann Friedrich Schmidt, *Hermannide,* Wien, 1777. München, 1778.

[21] A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 169 ff.

[22] *Ibid.,* 171. [23] *Ibid.,* 172. [24] *Ibid.,* 174.

Schmidt (sic!), tell him that I shall turn his *Hermannide* back into *Turandot,* though keeping his dialogue. The play must have pomp, and the Frankish pomp of the fifth century really was not very great, at least it was not Chinese! And I shall have a ballet as finale: the wedding of Calaf and Turandot."[25] A few months later he is still absorbed in the same project: "After the *Merchant* I shall turn to *Turandot.* . . . There are comedies which are worthless as comedies but are extraordinarily good as operas. For instance, *Hermannide* as an opera would yield applause and good receipts; as a tragedy I should not like to spend fifty Taler on it."[26]

Nor was *Turandot* the only play to attract Schröder. A plan had been evolved by Gotter and Dalberg to persuade the composer Benda to write the musical score to Gozzi's *Corvo,* Schröder and Gotter to supply the libretto.[27] On September 18, 1777, in response to an inquiry to this effect from Gotter, the Hamburg director replied: "Am I thinking of the *Corvo* by Gozzi? I should say so! but not until next year."[28] However, Benda's indifference proved fatal to the project. The first adaptation of *Il corvo* was to wait for fifteen years.

It was neither *Turandot* nor *Il corvo* which was destined to be first chosen for a Gozzi production on the German stage, but *I pitocchi fortunati,* which, as *Die glücklichen Bettler,* was produced as the first original Gozzi drama in Germany on the stage of the Gotha Hoftheater, March 4, 1777.[29] Whether or not the five-act comedy produced in Gotha was the Schröder translation has not been determined. Köster thinks that the version is to be attributed to Gotter. This opinion has evidently not found general acceptance, for Ru-

[25] B. Litzmann, *Schröder und Gotter,* Hamburg, 1887, p. 57 f.
[26] *Ibid.,* 128. [27] *Ibid.,* 128. [28] *Ibid.,* 67.
[29] Richard Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaischen Hoftheaters,* p. 165.

dolf Schlösser, the biographer of Gotter, and chief authority on his work, passes this play over in perfect silence in the discussion of Gotter's works. Furthermore, there was staged in Hamburg, a few months later, a version of *Die glücklichen Bettler,* which Reichardt attributes to Schröder. Since an active correspondence was going on at this time between Schröder and Gotter, and Schröder in his letters demonstrates his interest in Gozzi, it may not be entirely wrong to assume that the Gotha production came from the fertile pen of Schröder and that, as in several other instances, Gotter collaborated to some extent. The only definite clue that has been found is an extract from a letter published in the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* dated Gotha, March 10, 1778, in which the writer states: "Last week *Die glücklichen Bettler* by Gozzi was presented at the local Hoftheater, *with but few changes,* and was heartily acclaimed. This is the first theater among the Germans to present original Gozzi plays."[30] In view of this statement and of the fact that the biographers of neither of the directors mention this play, it may possibly have been the Werthes' translation, with a few alterations, which was played. Since at this time great interest was taken in the impromptu comedy, it is possible that actors improvised the mask-scenes as indicated by Gozzi himself. So far, the manuscript used for this performance has not been found, nor any direct reference to the version used. Until one or the other comes to light, this will remain a moot question. Owing to the permanent closing of the Gotha Hoftheater, the Gozzi comedy was performed only four times: March 4, March 13, August 21, 1778; and March 12, 1779.[31] In the meantime, the Weimar company had staged what we may assume to be this Schröder-Gotter version for a number of performances (cf. p. 43, below).

[30] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, April 4, 1778.

[31] Richard Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaischen Hoftheaters,* pp. 165, 167, 170.

While Gotter's share in *Die glücklichen Bettler* is extremely doubtful, the work served as an inspiration to him and as the source for his *Das Tartarische Gesetz,* an opera in two acts. Out of the complicated action of the Italian play, he drew a minor episode which he made the central plot of his work. In his announcement Gotter modestly says:

An episode of *Die glücklichen Bettler* by Gozzi has furnished the material for this trifle. I thought I should find therein good situations for musical expression. If my feelings have not deceived me, and if I have used these situations according to their deserts, I hope I shall be able to comfort myself, upon regarding the play as a whole, with that indulgence which has heretofore been accorded to this type of drama. Gotha, August, 1778.[32]

The critic of the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* in reviewing *Das Tartarische Gesetz,* answers Gotter:

No trifle is this, such as the author modestly in his preface announces it to be, and such as musical comedies and dramas with music are wont to be, but a production of such value that we would gladly exchange it for a few of our sentimental pieces, which even to the very present are lauded without stint, and yet which, if examined closely, are of very slight dramatic value.[33]

The article gives a general review of the play and praises it very highly. It has been very carefully analyzed by Rudolf Schlösser in his life of Gotter.[34] He also discusses the performances given at various German theatres, such as Mannheim, Berlin, Hamburg, Hanau, and Weimar, and mentions the music written for the play by André, d'Antoine, and Benda. He does not, however, record the interesting fact that early in 1779 Hiller, the composer of *Das Grab des Mufti,* and Seydelmann, conductor of the orchestra at

[32] F. W. Gotter, *Das Tartarische Gesez,* Leipzig, Dyk, 1779.

[33] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, November 21, 1778.

[34] Rudolf Schlösser, *F. W. Gotter, Leben und Werke,* Hamburg und Leipzig, Moss, 1895.

Dresden, were already setting it to music;[35] nor does he discuss the performances which were staged in Bonn, in 1782,[36] nor in Stuttgart in 1783, the latter with Zumsteeg's music.[37] After Benda's fiasco in 1786, the work apparently disappears from the German stage, as no more references are found concerning it.

Gotter realized the charm of the Gozzi drama, yet at the same time appreciated the difficulties in trying to import into Germany the Italian masks, which, peculiar to the soil of Italy and a spontaneous outgrowth from it, could never be anything but a foreign, exotic bloom in the northern country. When he undertook, therefore, this time in collaboration with his friend Schröder, to reconstruct for a German audience Gozzi's *Doride,* he gave the work of the Venetian dramatist a radical revision. The German comedy was entitled *Juliane von Lindorak.* It was first produced on Schröder's stage in Hamburg on August 27, 1778, where it proved eminently successful. A year later it was printed and bound into the fourth volume of the *Hamburgisches Theater* and in 1780 it was reprinted in Vienna as a separate volume.[38]

In his biography of Gotter, Schlösser gives a detailed account of the plot of this play.[39] Suffice it to record here that the milieu was changed from Italy to Germany; that, while the plot, on the whole, was kept intact, certain incidents which would have wounded the sensibilities of an audience as well versed as the Germans in the art and etiquette of military life, were either eliminated or changed. What the

[35] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, February 27, 1779.

[36] *Theater Journal für Deutschland für 1782,* p. 103.

[37] *Ibid.,* 1783, p. 131. Heft 22, p. 56.

[38] F. W. Gotter, *Juliane von Lindorak. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Gozzi.* Aufgeführt im K. K. Nationaltheater. Wien, zu finden beim Logenmeister, 1780.

[39] *Rudolf Schlösser, Gotter, Leben und Werke,* pp. 295-96.

German adapters were unable to grasp, was that though Gozzi himself intended this play to be taken seriously, it was nevertheless written for the Sacchi troupe and for his Venetian audiences which had so enthusiastically acclaimed the fiabe. Therefore a certain fundamental, caustic but merry, spirit of impish mockery which marks Gozzi throughout his work could not be lacking in this play. How completely the two Germans failed to catch this spirit is strikingly apparent in the change which they made in the ending of the drama. Gozzi, with hidden laughter, thinks the villain sufficiently punished when he has to marry at the conclusion of the play the sister of the hero, to whom he had once paid his attentions and whom he had jilted later on. The finesse of this ending was entirely lost on the collaborators, who punished Saalheim with two years' incarceration in a fortress, with scarcely a hint at a wedding in the dim future! They were somewhat more successful in their treatment of the colonel, the rascally servant, and the nurse, who in the original are but the rough-and-ready captain, the Truffaldino, the Smeraldina of the Commedia dell' Arte thinly disguised, for in the garb which they assume in the German play these characters become the stock types of every stage.

Goethe, in the *Italienische Reise,* remarked that, since he had seen the Italians at home, he understood their predilection for long, rhetorical speeches in their plays,[40] the natural corollary of the remark being that his countrymen did not share this propensity. It was sound dramatic instinct therefore which caused Schröder and Gotter to shorten the Italian version considerably when they evolved their adaptation. Long expository speeches were reduced to the merely essential, which effect was further increased by shifting scenes from one act to another.

The character of Doris, the wife who passively acquies-

[40] *Werke,* Weimar, Bd. 30. Cf. below, p. 50.

ces in her husband's acts of injustice, is one that has come down from the early days of the Hindus and which found its supreme expression in Boccaccio's tale of the patient Griselda. Such a type must have appealed particularly to the conservative taste of Gozzi, who saw a very different standard of conduct among his countrywomen. The only thing which can make such a character bearable to the modern mind is a strict and consequent adherence to the subtle psychology of passive resistance, so fundamental to this type. In making her over into the German Juliane, this has been lost, as when for instance she opposes her sister-in-law with speeches that do not fit her character but coarsen it.

In a modern, twentieth century drama, *Juliane von Lindorak* would be an impossible heroine. At a time, however, which was ripe for the supersentimental, tearful plays of Iffland, the popularity of Gotter's production[41] was instantaneous and assured—for a few years at least. All over Germany *Juliane von Lindorak* was performed. In 1779 it was repeatedly staged at the Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Berlin,[42] in Hamburg,[43] and at the Hoftheater in Gotha;[44] in the following year it was in the repertoire of the Kurfürstliche Kölner Gesellschaft in Bonn;[45] that of the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig,[46] and of the Burgtheater in Vienna;[47] and was repeated at the theatres of Berlin and Hamburg.[48]

[41] Köster erroneously ascribes the work of adaptation to Schröder and credits Gotter with a later revision.

[42] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 10, 1779. Also July 3.

[43] *Ibid.,* December 4, 1779. Also Comoedien Zettel, Hamburger Theater, November 13, 1779.

[44] R. Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaer Hoftheaters,* p. 167.

[45] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* 1782, pp. 13, 56.

[46] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, May 13, 1780; also December, 1780.

[47] *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach von Jahr 1782,* bei Joseph Herold.

[48] Comoedien Zettel, of 1780, Hamburger Johanneum.

Emanuel Schikaneder even staged it among his spectacular monstrosities in Salzburg.[49] In 1781 in addition to the theatres mentioned above, where it maintained its place until 1788, the Schuch Gesellschaft carried it to Danzig;[50] and a year later audiences were enjoying it immensely in Riga, Erfurt, and Meiningen.[51] The Abt Gesellschaft played it in 1783 in Göttingen;[52] the Grossmanns repeated it in Cassel;[53] and the Thurn-Taxische Gesellschaft performed it repeatedly.[54] Beginning with 1784, however, its popularity commenced to wane; there was a slight recrudescence in 1786 in Bayreuth,[55] Hamburg, Mannheim, Vienna, and Munich; then it gradually disappeared from the boards for a number of years. Only one performance, that of October 27, in Weimar,[56] under the régime of Goethe, who retained it from the Bellomo repertoire, could be traced for the year 1791; then it vanishes entirely, with but a single revival at Bautzen in 1797.[57] Schlösser sums up the success of *Juliane von Lindorak* as follows: "The play spread from Schleswig to

[49] *E. K. Blümml, Aus Mozarts Freundes- und Familienkreis,* 1923.

[50] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, November 10, 1781.

[51] *Ibid.,* November 1782, and 1784.

[52] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, pp. 114, 116.

[53] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* June 28, 1783.

[54] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, p. 56.

[55] *Ephemeriden des Theaters und der Litteratur,* May 27, 1786.

[56] C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimarischen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung,* 1891, p. 138.

[57] *Journal für Theater und andere schöne Künste,* 1797, p. 273. In connection with this performance at Bautzen, December 8, 1797, it may be of interest to note that the company of Meddox made a fiasco of the play. A contemporary critic, Doctor Schmieder, writes: "The performance was horrible. Herr Meddox evidently wished to prove that through the wrong assignment of parts the best of dramas would have to fail." The writer continues to criticize the costumes of the actresses, which were evidently entirely out of place, and censures the Bohemian dialect of one of them, which continually interfered with the lines, as well as the manners and lack of etiquette on the part of all.

Hermannstadt, from Riga to Graz, and was even performed in Swedish in Gothenburg (1782). It was particularly popular in the eighties; with the beginning of the nineties it recedes more and more into the background."[58]

The immediate success of *Juliane von Lindorak* induced Gotter to rewrite another of Gozzi's plays, *Il secreto pubblico,* for the German stage. This appears in German dress as *Das öffentliche Geheimnis.* The première was performed on September 13, 1779, in the Hoftheater in Gotha[59] and was successful from the start. A contemporary critic who saw the first performance wrote to the *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung* that the verse was excellent, and he notes with satisfaction that "Herr Wieland was present at the performance."[60] Dyk, the Leipzig publisher, brought it out in Leipzig in 1781, and it was republished in Vienna in 1792.

The drama had had, indeed, a long history before receiving its German form. Many years later August Wilhelm Schlegel notes this in a review of the comedy: "*Das öffentliche Geheimnis* by Gotter after Gozzi—or to speak more exactly, for it is easy to prove that Gotter did not know . . . the Italian text—by Gotter after Werthes after Gozzi—and thereby we are not yet through with the word 'after.'" He adds that when the critics reproved Gozzi for having stolen the play from an earlier Italian author, the Venetian was able to demonstrate that the other had stolen it from the same source whence he himself took it, from the works of Calderón, where it is called *El Secreto a voces.*[61]

When the Spanish and the Italian versions of this play are compared, it becomes evident that Gozzi simplified it greatly. Thus he reduces clever anagrammatic arrangements of the "secreto" from the ingenious internal and double rhymes and obscure meanings to the simplest form, with but

[58] *Op. cit.,* p. 245.
[59] Schlösser, *op. cit.,* p. 247.
[60] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, October 9, 1779.
[61] *Theater Kritiken,* 1802. *Werke,* 1846, IX, 218.

one end-rhyme. To please his Venetian audience and to accommodate the Sacchi troupe, he introduced the four customary masks, for two of which he had to create new characters. Gotter, in his adaptation, again altered the Werthes translation to suit the circumstance of the stage for which he was writing, and in doing so, strangely enough, apparently without having known the Spanish version, at times approaches Calderón more closely than Gozzi in his direct translation. The plot has been excellently outlined by Schlösser in his life of Gotter[62] and therefore need not be analyzed here. Suffice it to say that the action of all the versions revolves around the love of the reigning Princess of Salerno for her secretary, who, in turn, is in love with a lady-in-waiting who reciprocates his affection. To make the circle complete, the Duke of Amalfi lavishes his unrequited affections upon the Princess. The jealousy of the latter causes her to lose her dignity sufficiently to bribe the secretary's servant Vito to spy upon his master. Vito, the typical "gracioso" of Spanish comedy, becomes under Gozzi's manipulations an Italian Truffaldino, and in Gotter's hands a very amusing, impudent servant, whose drollness keeps the audience perpetually in laughter. The play gains its title from the subterfuge which the lovers employ, of speaking to each other in verse upon a preconcerted sign, the first words of the lines comprising a hidden meaning intelligible only to the other. All ends happily when the princess, upon discovering the perfidy of the lovers, forgives them and, remembering her rank, accepts the hand of the Duke of Amalfi.

Gotter, in his version, changed the names of the masks without, however, changing their well-known, mask-like character. Thus his servant Vito aroused a storm of adverse criticism because he was really a mocking, Venetian Truffaldino in the guise of a German servant, whose unconventional behavior shocked the German audiences immensely. For instance, the critics of the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung*

[62] R. Schlösser, *Gotter, Leben und Werke*, p. 247 f.

object violently to the degree of intimacy existing between the Duchess Flerida and the impertinent Vito. "I might wish," one of them exclaims,[63] "that the duchess had not chosen a servant for her confidant; Gozzi has forgotten himself greatly by doing that, although it might perhaps be excused on the plea that love makes us all equal." Reichardt himself, however, aware of the difference existing between Truffaldino and Vito, sensibly remarks that since the whole intrigue of the drama is based on the intimacy of the princess and Truffaldino, Gotter turned the latter into a common servant (Vito) hoping that thereby the sensibilities of the German public might suffer the less. The Germans, on the contrary, received quite a disagreeable impression. He reminds his reader that the scene is laid in Italy, and the spectator and reader must know how to adjust themselves to an Italian milieu. In Italy it is not unusual, but customary, to have Truffaldino play the confidant in comedies. But, he adds, "a common, capricious servant in the innermost confidence of his princess will always be objectionable."[64]

In the same year a most indignant outcry against the lack of conventional morality in the play was published by Herold in the Viennese *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach vom Jahre 1782.* Evidently, as in the case of *Juliane von Lindorak,* the elfish touch of Gozziesque mockery had entirely escaped the writer, who took the play quite seriously. The critic's arraignment is worth quoting at length:

> If the applause which this play has received from the local audience were a criterion of its value, we should consider this one of the best plays: it has been hailed with such acclaim! But, as frequently, this time too the loud applause is deceptive. Though the drama does not lack amusing situations and witty ideas, though it has many a good comical scene, yet it abounds in absurdities which even Gotter's masterly talent has not been able

[63] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, July 15, 1780.

[64] *Ibid.,* March 23, 1782.

to remove. The most objectionable feature is certainly the intimacy of the Princess and the servant of her secretary, the indifference with which she endures the basest jokes. Laura's character becomes so despicable through the horrible abuse of the confidence which the good fool of a Princess bestows upon her, through her deception in not disclosing to Flerida the object of her love, simulating meanwhile devotion to her, that she loses our entire sympathy. I, for my part, were I in Federigo's (the secretary's) place, would never, never make up my mind to bestow my heart and hand upon so rascally a chambermaid, who is such a past mistress in the art of deception and always retains her presence of mind; if . . . . it is a question of deceit . . . . Federigo's character is scarcely any better. He, too, betrays his Princess in the basest manner and he really deserves harsh punishment for such bad behavior. The sudden change in the Princess, who bestows the man whom five minutes earlier she still loved so ardently upon the woman who has betrayed her confidence so grossly, is as improbable as it is unmotivated, and plainly takes place only to bring the play to a conclusion.[65]

Odd enough that writers in journals as important and prominent as those just cited should be of so dry-as-dust a temperament as to miss entirely the point of this charming comedy! One turns therefore with pleasure to the fine analysis of August Wilhelm Schlegel, who compares the Spanish, Italian, and German versions, somewhat to the detriment of the last. He criticizes the fact that though the play is written in prose, the lovers always address each other in verse in the presence of the princess, and finds this sudden, unjustified introduction of poetry unnatural and stilted. "Yet," he adds, *"Das öffentliche Geheimnis* is a comedy of such merit that, in spite of the destructive treatment it has received, it still affords great pleasure to the audience."[66]

How greatly does the point of view change in the course of a single century! In 1891, Albert Köster[67] sees the very

[65] *Allgemeiner Theater Kalender,* Wien, Joseph Herold, 1782.
[66] "Theater Kritiken" (1802), *Sämmtliche Werke,* VIII, pp. 218 ff.
[67] *Op. cit.,* p. 220.

mainspring of action in the much abused servant Vito, who by his listening and chattering governs the entire plot: "Like a shuttlecock he is thrown back and forth in unceasing motion between the two parties comprising the action."[68] Köster particularly admires the mercurial temperament with which Gotter has endowed Vito, his vivacious speech, witty repartees and merry impudence.

Das öffentliche Geheimnis had a very successful "run" on the various stages of Germany and Austria. After its first presentation at the Gothaer Hoftheater, it became part of the regular repertoire of the theatres of Hamburg[69] and Vienna:[70] at the former it remained at least until 1786,[71] at the latter until 1808.[72] It was given in Mannheim,[73] Meiningen,[74] Berlin,[75] Munich,[76] Königsberg,[77] Stettin,[78] and Bres-

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[69] "Comoedien Zettel des Theaters in Hamburg," in the archives of the Stadt-Bibliothek in Hamburg. "October 15, 1779. Mme. Rennschub as Princess acted very well herein." The *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung* states that the play partly pleased and in part was not liked. "To be sure, if a play by an Italian is regarded according to French rules, it is scarcely orthodox. For instance, even in an opera buffa the Gordian knot could not be cut in a more Alexander-like fashion than in the present instance." *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung.* December 18, 1779.

[70] *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach,* Wien, Herold, 1782; given six times: September 15, 16, 18, 20, October 8, December 6. Brockmann, Stephanie and Sacco took part in it.

[71] "Comoedien Zettel," Hamburg.

[72] Otto Rub, *Das Burgtheater, 1776-1913.*

[73] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* Berlin, V, March 10, 1787.

[74] *Theater Journal für Deutschland,* 1782, p. 70.

[75] Not successful. Played six times in 1782. *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* December 21, 1782.

[76] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* May 26, 1787.

[77] August Wilhelm Iffland, *Almanach fürs Theater, Dritter Jahrgang,* Berlin, 1809.

[78] Played by the Wäser Gesellschaft eight times between June 9 and September 14, 1782.

lau,[79] besides many smaller places. Indeed, so great a favorite did the play prove to be that the plot was adapted again forty years later by a Viennese actor and underwent another revision as late as 1920. These productions will be discussed below in their proper settings.

While Gotter was winning such success with Gozzi's plays all over Germany, Schröder was by no means idle in Hamburg. Feeling that he could utilize more of Gozzi than had already been done, he prepared for his stage *Das Unglück der Donna Elvira, Königinn von Navarra, ein tragischer Prolog nach Gozzi zu folgendem Stück: Die Strafe im Abgrund, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen,*[80] which was produced for the first time on January 13, 1779. It was played there repeatedly during that season, but did not survive the year 1780. In 1779 it was also produced at Leipzig, where it was greatly enjoyed.[81] Prölss found it in the Dresden repertory from 1779 to 1882.[82] The only other places recording its production are Mannheim[83] and Riga.[84] Graf von Riesch retranslated it in 1821, and it was performed in Reval,[85] but by that time the super-romantic atmosphere of the production had outlived itself, and it disappeared completely from the repertoires of the German theatre.

While Schröder's text could not be found for comparison, his version seems to have preserved the text of the original, so far as one may judge from the "Theaterzettel." In the *dramatis personæ* not a single change is indicated. We may

[79] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* September 14, 1782.

[80] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 10, 1779.

[81] *Ibid.,* November 20, 1779. The performances took place October 12 and August 10.

[82] Robert Prölss, *Die Geschichte des neueren Dramas, Leipzig,* 1881, I, p. 342.

[83] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* August 19, 1780.

[84] *Ibid.,* December 4, 1784.

[85] August 12, 1821. T. Winkler, *Tagebuch der deutschen Schaubühne, auf das Jahr 1821.*

regard it as Schröder's or Werthes' translation, therefore, rather than an adaptation.

By no means satisfied that he had exhausted Gozzi, Schröder had another play ready six days after the première of *Die Strafe im Abgrund.* This time he selected one of the fiabe, around which, after all, his chief interest centered. It was the same play which had already been produced in the Hoftheater in Gotha, *Die glücklichen Bettler.* Consideration has already been given earlier in this chapter[86] to the question as to whether the production in Gotha was identical with that of Hamburg. This play has not been printed, nor is it contained in the collection of Schröder manuscripts in the possession of the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg. From the *dramatis personæ* we know that Schröder gave the masks Eastern names, to harmonize with the setting of the story. Thus Tartaglia becomes Bedreddin, Pantalone changes to Pademanaba, Angelika acquires the name of Zulica, etc.

Die glücklichen Bettler was played for the first time on April 26, 1779, at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.[87] It was repeated twice during the same month, but as it did not entirely suit the taste of the Berlin audience, it was withdrawn from the boards. A contemporary reviewer admits, however, that the audience and not the play was at fault.[88] In Hamburg, on the other hand, it was reviewed at first enthusiastically, particularly because Schröder himself took the part of Bedreddin. A Rostock contributor to Reichardt's *Theater Journal,* Johann Christian Koppe, who witnessed the performance of May 11, 1779, admired the acting greatly, yet could not find himself entirely in sympathy with Gozzi's ironical manner.

The magnificent play is one of the best of Gozzi, who has found so many admirers among us Germans; who, however,

[86] Cf. above, p. 31.

[87] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 24, 1779.

[88] *Ibid.*

go too far in our admiration, and treat with scorn both Chiari and Goldoni. Yet these, particularly the latter, afforded us a great deal of pleasure before our acquaintance with Gozzi. . . . . This I consider base ingratitude. Admitting that Gozzi surpassed both the others in talent, that one of his is worth a hundred of the Storm and Stress type or whatever their names may be, admitting all this, I must yet confess frankly that I do not feel quite at ease in the odd mixture of the supernatural and the natural, which contrasts so greatly in all of Gozzi's plays. In his everlasting fairy tales, though, to be sure, one recognizes his great genius and admires it.[89]

The writer must have found many to share his opinion of Schröder's adaptation from the fiabe, since *Die glücklichen Bettler* soon disappeared from the Hamburg repertoire. A year later it was played by the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig, where it was received with great applause.[90] In 1782 the Wäser Gesellschaft carried it to Stettin and performed it eight times within three months.[91] Ten years later it was revived under the Goethe Directorate in Weimar and was played eight times between 1792 and 1797 on the stages of Weimar, Erfurt, and Lauchstädt.[92] During the eighties other popular versions of the same play, which will be discussed later, were presented in Vienna.

[89] *Theater Journal,* 1780, Heft 16, p. 164.

[90] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* May 27, 1780.

[91] *Ibid.,* September 14, 1782.

[92] *"Die glücklichen Bettler, Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Nach Gozzi."* January 14; March 24; August 5, 15, 23, October 18, 1792. April 30, 1795. February 27, 1797. C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimarischen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung,* 1791-1817. 1891, p. 125.

CHAPTER II

GOETHE AND GOZZI

Goethe's interest in Gozzi was awakened very early and never wholly disappeared throughout his long career. The first evidence to be found is an undated memorandum contained in a collection of brief notes generally assumed to have been jotted down either at the end of the third Frankfort period or at the beginning of the poet's residence in Weimar. This particular entry is a bit of improvised comedy:

Brigella. Gebt ihr die Rechnungen wenn sie sie haben will.
Truff(aldino). Wie würde dies gehn?
Brig(hella). Sey ruhig kann ich nicht herauskommen wie will sie klug daraus werden. Geschweige sie: ich kann nicht heraus kommen, geschweige sie.[1]

Although it is impossible to connect as short and abrupt a fragment as the above with anything of literary value, it is of great interest from a historical point of view, inasmuch as it seems to indicate that, at a comparatively early date, Goethe thought of composing an original drama of the type of the Commedia dell' Arte.

The above lines must be contemporary with a short notice in the diary, under date of October 25, 1777. "Am Abend eine Szene mit Pet. Ges. beym Herzog. Spiel und Vorlesen von Gozzi."[2] Such delight did the company take in the reading of the fiabe that, under the direction of Goethe, short improvised sketches were produced in Weimar,[3] followed on March 27, 1778, by *Die glücklichen Bettler,*[4] which was

[1] *Werke,* Weimar, 1897, XXXVIII, 495. The group of notes of which it forms a part, designated by Erich Schmidt "Späne," was transcribed by this editor from two bundles of papers found in the Goethe archives.

[2] *Werke,* Weimar, III, Bd. I, p. 52.

[3] R. Falck, *Zur Geschichte des Liebhabertheaters in Weimar,* Berlin, 1887, p. 137. Cf. *Goethe Jahrbuch,* IV, 115.

[4] *Tagebücher,* I, 64; II, 32. This was certainly the version attributed to Schröder. Cf. above, p. 31.

performed at the Hoftheater in Lauchstädt and in Erfurt eight times.[5] In January, 1780, *Das grüne Vögelchen (L'augellino belverde)* was staged by the Weimar company;[6] on March 21, 1783, *"Zobeis" (La zobeide)*;[7] on March 21, 1793, *Die entwaffnete Rachgier,*[8] in addition to *Juliane von Lindorak,* which has already been discussed.[9]

So versatile a genius as Goethe's was bound to be affected to some degree by any author in whom he took an interest. A sort of "devil of parody" was riding him, he writes to Merck early in 1778, quoting consciously or unconsciously from Gozzi, and in such a mood he must have found a congenial spirit in the Venetian dramatist.[10] His mind was not of the type, however, which imitates directly the manner or style of another; rather, his delight in it would induce him unconsciously to absorb some part, transmute it within his soul, and bring it forth again, still showing the traces of its origin, yet wholly and absolutely his own. An example of this procedure is given by the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* a "dramatic whim," as he himself called it. It was first announced to Frau von Stein in a letter dated September 12, 1777,[11] and its original form bore the title *Die Empfindsamen.* As such it was presented at the Liebhabertheater. Later,

[5] C. A. H. Burkhardt, *op. cit.,* p. 115.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 125. This was the Werthes version in all probability.

[7] *Goethe Jahrbuch,* IV, 115. Cf. note 6, above.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 123. Vulpius was the adapter of this play. See *Goethe Jahrbuch,* p. 64.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 138. See above, p. 36 ff.

[10] *Briefe,* III, 214 (March 18): "Beyliegend kriegst du von der Mutter meine neuste Tollheit, daraus du sehen wirst dass der Teufel der Parodie mich noch reitet." Cf. Gozzi's "questa diabolica parodia." *L'amore delle tre melarance.* I, 22.

[11] *Werke,* III, cf. p. 35: "Eine Tollbeit hab' ich erfunden, eine komische Oper . . . . so toll und grob als möglich," perhaps an echo of the term "uno smoderato capriccio," which Gozzi applies to the fiaba which was Goethe's source (cf. *L'amore delle tre melarance,* ed. Masi, I, 22).

when Goethe included it among his collected works, he changed the title to its present form.[12]

It is easy to trace the conception of the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* to the influence of Gozzi's *L'amore delle tre melarance*. Both authors use a dramatized form of fairy tale to satirize a contemporary literary evil. In Gozzi's case the attack was directed generally against the slavish imitation of the French drama in Italy, while Goethe wished to deal the death blow to that type of sentimentality of which his own Werther was the chief exponent. Specifically the former attacked the "versi martelliani" of Goldoni and Chiari, the latter the "Monodrama" popular at the time. Upon a closer examination of the two plays, numerous points of contact are evident. Prince Tartaglia of the *Amore delle tre melarance* suffers from a seemingly incurable attack of hypochondria, called forth by the martellian verse of the poets Goldoni and Chiari. His only hope of recovery consists in whole-souled laughter. In Goethe's play, Prince Oronaro suffers from a similar disease: exaggerated sentimentality, which could only be cured by that quality which is engendered by a sane, natural view of life, a sense of humor. In both princes we see in much exaggerated form, of course, the effect upon the mind of the types of literature ridiculed: symbolized in the one case by papers containing martellian verses in powdered form, in the other by books which formed the stuffing of Oronaro's doll. Both princes, therefore, become victims of a mental disease, for which aid is sought from magician and oracle. The cure prescribed for both is the same: the arousing of a sense of humor, which presupposes a natural, healthy state of mind. In addition to Prince Oronaro, the German play has another victim of sentimental melancholia in Mandandane, wife of King Andrason, whom Prince Oronaro has infected with his disease.

[12] A detailed account of the history of this play is to be found in *Werke*, XVII, 311 ff.

While Prince Tartaglia is cured by hearty laughter and Mandandane also recovers because she recognizes the false sentimentality and artificiality of Prince Oronaro, the latter, quite beyond redemption, remains to the end the captive of his hallucinations. Both princes, quixotic in their attitude toward existence, have attendants who in their dog-like yet self-interested devotion, contrasting strangely with their practical, though strictly limited outlook upon life, reveal Sancho Pansian propensities which but emphasize the absurdities of their masters. At the same time, both Truffaldino and Merkulo furnish the audience with keen amusement. That the figure of the latter is a German transmutation of the former goes without saying.

There are evidences in the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* of the influence of other fiabe. Thus the entrance[13] of Merkulo with his bodyguard, the Moors, attendants, and so forth, as well as the Chinese decorations of the hall, are reminiscent of very similar preparations in *Turandot.*[14] The name of the heroine, Mandandane, was probably evoked by Princess Dardane of the *Mostro turchino.* That Goethe knew this fiaba appears probable from other similarities of a minor sort. Thus Truffaldino, protesting the unshakeable constancy of his master Taer, declares that he has never looked at any other women, and that they all appear ugly to him. He had seen some of surpassing beauty in despair, because of their unrequited affections for his master, but he had always despised and scorned them all.[15] Similarly, in the *Triumph der Emfindsamkeit,*[16] the prince tortures himself because so many women love him, for after all he can bestow his hand upon one only: "Es ist nicht Langeweile, es ist die Gefälligkeit dieser angenehmen Geschöpfe, die mich ängstet."

[13] *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit. Werke.* XVII, 17.
[14] *Turandot,* ed. E. Masi, Act II, Sc. I.
[15] *Mostro turchino* ed. Masi, I, 206.
[16] *Werke,* XVII, 28.

That Goethe's interest in Gozzi was still alive half a dozen years later would appear from the strophes entitled "Antworten bei einem gesellschaftlichen Fragespiel," incorporated in the Paralipomena to *Die ungleichen Hausgenossen.*[17] The idea behind these lines is perhaps borrowed from the first act of *Il Secreto pubblico.* Here in answer to the question, "what is the greatest torture to which love can be subjected?" each member reveals in his reply some hidden trouble. Goethe may have had this passage in mind when, in the strophes referred to, he uses a variety of questions to elicit different, yet self-revealing answers. Unfortunately these verses, though complete in themselves, are not sufficiently closely connected with the play to permit a definite conclusion as to their intended position, but the assumption may fairly be made that each stanza was to be sung by a member of the cast as a characteristic utterance of his ideas.

Goethe's conception of Gozzi was crystallized and intensified while he was traveling in Italy. It is possible that he may have witnessed a Gozzi play in Venice. Under date of October 5, 1786, he wrote from there:

Ich komme noch lachend aus der Tragödie und muss diesen Scherz gleich ouf dem Papier befestigen. Das Stück war nicht schlimm, der Verfasser hatte alle tragischen Matadore zusammengesteckt und die Schauspieler hatten gut gespielt. Die meisten Situationen waren bekannt, einige neu und ganz glücklich. Zwei Väter, die sich hassen, Söhne und Töchter über's Kreuz verliebt, ja, das eine Paar heimlich verheiratet. Es ging wild und grausam zu, und nichts blieb zuletzt übrig, um die jungen Leute glücklich zu machen, als dass die beiden Väter sich erstachen, worauf, unter lebhaftem Händeklatschen, der Vorhang fiel. Nun ward aber das Klatschen heftiger, nun wurde "fuora" gerufen, und das so lange, bis sich die zwei Hauptpaare bequemten, hinter dem Vorhang hervorzukriechen, ihre Bücklinge zu machen und auf der andern Seite wieder abzugehen.

[17] Originated probably around 1785. Published for the first time in *Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1796. Werke,* I, 38; 325. Also in Paralipomena, *Werke,* XII, 410 ff.

Das publikum war noch nicht befriedigt, es klatschte fort und rief; "I morti!" Das dauerte so lange, bis die zwei Toten auch herauskamen und sich bückten, da denn einige Stimmen riefen: "Bravi i morti!" Sie wurden durch Klatschen lange festgehalten, bis man ihnen gleichfalls endlich abzugehen erlaubte. Die Posse gewinnt für den Augen-und Ohrenzeugen unendlich, der das "Bravo! Bravi!" das die Italiener immer im Munde führen, so in den Ohren hat wie ich und dann auf einmal die Toten mit diesem Ehrenwort anrufen hört.[18]

On the following day, in a more serious frame of mind, the poet drew some interesting conclusions:[19]

Die Tragödie gestern hat mich manches gelehrt. Erstlich habe ich gehört, wie die Italiener ihre eilfsilbigen Iamben behandeln und declamiren, dann habe ich begriffen, wie klug Gozzi die Masken mit den tragischen Figuren verbunden hat. Das ist das eigentliche Schauspiel für dieses Volk, denn es will auf eine crude Weise gerührt sein, es nimmt keinen innigen zärtlichen Anteil am Unglücklichen, es freut sie nur, wenn der Held gut spricht, denn auf's Reden halten sie viel, sodann wollen sie aber lachen oder etwas Albernes vernehmen.

Repeatedly, in the following decade, Goethe's letters and diary testify to an occupation with Gozzi. Thus, in the *Campagne in Frankreich,* in a discussion concerning the dramatic repertoire of the Weimar Theater, he places the Italian between Shakespeare and Schiller. After mentioning a number of contemporary authors whose fame was ephemeral he went on:

Diese lebendige, sich im Zirkel herumtreibende Masse suchte man mit Shakespeare, Gozzi und Schiller geistiger zu erheben. Man verliess die bisherige Art, nur Neues zum nächsten Verlust einzustudiren, man war sorgfältig in der Wahl und bereitete schon ein Repertorium vor, welches viele Jahre gehalten hat.[20]

[18] *Italiänische Reise, Werke,* XXX, 122-23. I know of no play by Gozzi which bears resemblance to the above plot.

[19] *Italiänische Reise,* XXX, 124.

[20] *Campagne in Frankreich,* XXXIII, 251 f.

Here he evidently refers to *Juliane von Lindorak* and *Die glücklichen Bettler,* which latter was revived in Weimar on December 31, 1793. The first letter which has been preserved, from Goethe to August Wilhelm Schlegel, May 28, 1797, accompanied the first volumes of the translated works of Gozzi intended for Friedrich Schlegel.[21] On the same day this was supplemented by a short entry into his diary: "Briefe nach Weimar Gozzi."[22] On May 29, the Weimar poet is still reading our author: "Gozzi König der Genien und wahrer Freund."[23] In August of the same year, while visiting the theatre in Frankfort, en route for Switzerland, he wrote:

> Auf dem Theater, so wie ich auch wieder hier sehe, wäre in dem gegenwärtigen Augenblick manches zu thun, aber man müsste es leicht nehmen und in der Gozzischen Manier traktiren; doch es ist in keinem Sinne werth.[24]

The plan of adapting the works of Gozzi for presentation in Germany again occurred to Goethe two years later, when he and Schiller were discussing the collection and the printing of good German plays, either in their original form or abridged and modernized to suit the taste of the time. The same process was to be applied to foreign plays.[25] One result of these plans was Schiller's adaptation, virtually amounting to a translation, of Gozzi's fiaba *Turandot.* The keen and sympathetic interest which Goethe took in the composition of this comedy finds full expression in the correspondence with Schiller and in Goethe's diaries, and has been discussed in all its phases by Albert Köster.[26]

After its first two performances in Weimar, Goethe, under signature of "Die Direction" on February 15, 1802, wrote a

[21] Jena, May 28, 1797. *Werke,* IV; XII, 133.
[22] *Tagebücher,* May 29, 1797. *Ibid.,* III; V. 2. p. 70.
[23] *Tagebücher,* May 29, 1797. *Ibid.,* III; V. 2. p. 70.
[24] *Werke,* XXXIV-I, pp. 238-39; V. XII; p. 229.
[25] *Tag- und Jahreshefte,* 1799. *Werke,* XXXV, 82.
[26] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 210 ff.

detailed and highly favorable review of *Turandot.*[27] After pointing out that the theatre should at times take its devotees on journeys into distant regions even at the cost of their personal ease, he continues:

Was uns betrifft, so wünschen wir freilich, dass wir nach und nach mehr Stücke von rein gesonderten Gattungen erhalten mögen, weil die wahre Kunst nur auf diese Weise gefördert werden kann; allein wir finden auch solche Stücke höchst nöthig, durch welche der Zuschauer erinnert wird, dass das ganze theatralische Wesen nur ein Spiel sei, über das er, wenn es ihm ästhetisch, ja moralisch nutzen soll, erhoben stehen muss, ohne deshalb weniger Genuss daran zu finden.

Als ein solches Stück schätzen wir *Turandot.* Hier ist das Abenteuerliche verschlungner menschlicher Schicksale der Grund, auf dem die Handlung vorgeht. Umgestürzte Reiche, vertriebene Könige, irrende Prinzen, Sclavinnen, sonst Prinzessinnen, führt eine erzählende Exposition vor unserm Geist vorüber, und die auch am Orte im phantastischen Peking auf einen kühn verliebten Fremden wartende Gefahr wird uns vor Augen gestellt. Was wir aber sodann erblicken, ist ein in Frieden herrschender, behaglicher, obgleich trauriger Kaiser, eine Prinzessin, eifersüchtig auf ihre weibliche Freiheit, und übrigens ein durch Masken erheitertes Serail. Räthsel vertreten hier die Stelle der Scylla und Charybdis, denen sich ein gutmüthiger Prinz aufs neue aussetzt, nachdem er ihnen schon glücklich entkommen war. Nun soll der Name des Unbekannten entdeckt werden, man versucht Gewalt, und hier gibt es eine Reihe von pathetischen, theatralisch auffallenden Scenen, man versucht die List, und nun wird die Macht der Überredung stufenweise aufgeboten.

Zwischen alle diese Zustände ist das Heitere, das Lustige ausgesäet und eine so bunte Behandlung mit völliger Einheit bis zu Ende durchgeführt. . . . .

Sollte es möglich sein, den vier Masken, wo nicht ihre ursprüngliche Anmuth zu geben, doch wenigstens etwas Ähnliches an die Stelle zu setzen, so würde schon viel gewonnen sein.

[27] "*Theater und Schauspielkunst.* Weimarisches Hoftheater." *Werke,* XL, 82 ff.

This review, which shows a very keen interest in Gozzi, is also of importance as reflecting the impression which the brilliant scenes of the Italian fiabe made when presented in their German form.

Goethe's admiration for Gozzi is evidenced again and again as the years pass. Thus, in paying tribute to the brilliantly witty French writer and conversationalist Piron (1689-1773) in 1804, Goethe says:

> Wie Gozzi, obgleich nicht mit solcher Macht und in solcher Breite, nimmt er sich bedrängter oder beschränkter Theater an, arbeitet für sie, macht ihnen Ruf und ist vergnügt etwas Unerwartetes geleistet zu haben.[28]

Again, in the Prologue recited at the Weimar Theater at its reopening on September 19, 1807, in the presence of the ducal family, the fiabe are not forgotten:

> Ihr habt uns oft begleitet in die fernste Welt,
> Nach Samarkand und Peking und ins Feenreich.[29]

Nor was *Turandot* omitted when the Kobler Gesellschaft of actors opened the season of 1812.[30] In staging *Epimenides Erwachen,* when the Demon of Slavery is to appear, the author directs that he shall bear the form of an old theatrical magician, like Gozzi's Sinadab.[31]

A few years later, in 1818, when Goethe organized in Weimar a pageant presenting the masterpieces of German literature, he inserted a résumé of *Turandot,* in which the rôles were given to prominent members of the Court, Turandot being represented by Frau von Spiegel, Emperor Altoum by von Arnim, and Adelma by Frau von Goethe.

[28] Cf. 1804. "Anmerkungen Über Personen und Gegenstände deren in dem Dialog *Rameau's Neffe* erwähnt wird." *Werke,* XLV, 198.

[29] *Werke,* XIII-I, 90.

[30] *Tag- und Jahres- Hefte,* 1812.

[31] "Actenstücke zur Entstehung des Epimenides." *Werke,* XVI, 499.

It was introduced by the following lines:

Möge nach so viel Ernst, ein leichtsinniges Märchen zum Schlusse gefallen. Altoum, fabelhafter Kaiser von China; Turandot, seine räthselliebende Tochter, stellen sich vor. Kalaf, ein kühner Berwerber, Adelma, eine leidenschaftliche Nebenbuhlerin, Zelima und ein wunderliches Maskengefolge erbitten sich, wie dem Ganzen, Geneigtheit und Nachsicht.[32]

In the Procession that follows, Altoum tells the story of the fiaba in blank verse.

Finally, a number of references in the "Gespräche" which he had in the latter part of his life with his friends, indicate that the Italian dramatist still survived in the memory of the aging poet.[33]

As late as 1830, Goethe recalled with pleasure his contact with the Commedia dell' Arte in Venice.

Goethe erzählte uns darauf die Art und Weise, wie Gozzi sein Theater del Arte zu Venedig eingerichtet hatte, und wie seine improvisierende Truppe beliebt gewesen. "Ich habe," sagte er, "zu Venedig noch zwei Actricen jener Truppe gesehen, besonders Brighella[34] und habe noch mehreern solcher improvisierter Stücke mit beigewohnt. Die Wirkung, die diese Leute hervorbrachten, war ausserordentlich."[35]

In looking back upon Goethe's life, it is evident that, from the time that the poet's interest was first aroused by the productions of Carlo Gozzi, he found a continuing pleasure in his works. It was probably *his* enthusiasm which caused Gozzi's dramas to be read aloud at the court of Weimar and which brought about the early staging of German versions of the fiabe, and induced the merry company of amateurs

[32] *Maskenzug von 1819. Werke,* XVI, 242.

[33] These pertain almost exclusively to a statement made by Gozzi regarding the thirty-six situations of the drama. Cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe,* Leipzig, 1896, II, 89. Cf. February 14, 1830.

[34] *Ibid.,* III, 145.

[35] Probably Goethe is confusing Brighella with his sister, Smeraldina.

at the court to indulge in original improvised comedy *à l'italienne.*[36] If an attempt were to be made to draw a curve of this enthusiasm for Gozzi, it would be found that one peak is reached when Goethe successfully utilized Gozzi's method and the idea underlying *L'amore delle tre melarance* for his *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* and that another marks his contact with the art of Gozzi in Venice, which left so lasting an impression upon his mind that he still dwelt upon it with pleasure forty-five years later. The latent interest which is well documented throughout the decade following his return to Weimar, was blown into full flame by Schiller's adaptation of *Turandot.* In this undertaking, Goethe aided and abetted the younger poet, even in the face of harsh criticism, and heartily welcomed the play into the theatre in Weimar. *Turandot* marks, it appears, the zenith of Goethe's active interest in Gozzi; but the flame which had burned so brightly left an afterglow which lasted until the poet's death.

[36] Cf. above, pp. 45-46.

CHAPTER III

THE SPREAD OF THE GOZZI VOGUE

Almost two decades had now elapsed since the introduction of Carlo Gozzi to the German-Austrian stage, unless indeed we are to reject the first work bearing his name (*Il puntiglio amoroso,* cf. above p. 21) from our discussion. For at least a dozen years the Venetian poet had been accessible to Germans through Werthes' translation which, in spite of its inadequacy, had won immediate friends for the fiabe. Lessing and Goethe were at once attracted by their charm and novelty, and as we have seen, the two greatest stage directors in Germany, F. L. Schröder and F. W. Gotter, brought them on the boards in worthy form.

It was Gotter who with unerring dramatic instinct selected for his adaptations three forms which were later to become canonical for his successors in the rendering of Gozzi for the German stage: a more or less literal translation of the original; a melodrama, usually transferred to a German milieu; and a musical play or operetta. Under the first type falls *Das öffentliche Geheimnis;* under the second, *Juliane von Lindorak;* while *Das tartarische Gesetz* is a representative of the third. Most of the adaptations of the seventies and eighties come under the first and second rubrics, while the period after 1790 sees the adaptation of Gozzi's plays as musical librettos grow in popularity. It was, as we shall see, especially in this genre that the amusement-loving audiences of the Vienna suburbs learned to know Gozzi.

In the meantime, it must be confessed that the Gozzi vogue, as it passed from the hands of the gifted managers of the Gotha and Hamburg stages, was taken over chiefly by stage handicraftsmen eager to profit by the popularity of the Italian author. The adaptations of the nineties show an abrupt decline in dramatic quality from those of Gotter and Schröder. Thus, while *Die glücklichen Bettler* was being played in Leip-

zig, another Gozzi fiaba *Zeim, König der Schutzgeister,* adapted for the German stage by the actor Reinecke, who was at that time active in Leipzig, was presented in the Saxon city during the months of July, August, and October, and proved a great favorite.[1] It was considered a good "box-office" play. The scenic decorations were lauded, the plot was praised. Reinecke harvested commendation for having cleverly changed a number of scenes. Thus Gozzi, had staged a battle with the Moors, which Reinecke converted into a triumphal procession marching across the stage to Janizary music. Special mention was made of the pleasing music composed by a certain Herr Bauser. It has not been possible to find a copy of this manuscript, which like many other adaptations from Gozzi seems lost to posterity.

A publisher in Leipzig by the name of Dyk, noting Gozzi's popularity in that city and well acquainted with the abilities of the actors of his native town, perceived as he himself relates to us,[2] the admirable aptitude of one of these, a certain Christ, for the part of Marquis Tourbillion, in Gozzi's *Le due notte affannose.* He therefore adapted for the stage of Leipzig, with particular attention to that character, this work, the plot of which Gozzi had borrowed from Calderón's comedy *Gustos y disgustos no son más que imaginación.* Dyk entitled his version *Wie man sich die Sache denkt oder die zwey schlaflosen Nächte. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen vom Grafen Karl Gozzi. Für das deutsche Theater bearbeitet* [(von Joh. Gottfr. Dyk), Leipzig, im Verlag der Dykischen Buchhandlung. 1780. 160 pp. 8°.][3]

[1] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, September 2, December 23, 1780; July 28, 1781.

[2] A "Notice" which he has appended to the edition of 1780.

[3] The Thieme Collection of the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna possesses a copy of the original edition. August Sauer, in the notes to his edition of the works of Grillparzer (IV-II, 4, p. 480), claims that Gotter is the author of this play. He probably reached this erroneous conclusion through the fact that Dyk's play in the Viennese National-

In a few effective words, in which he quotes Dyk's self-complacent preface and points out the wide gap between the promise and the actual achievement, Köster reviews the play, which adheres closely to the Werthes translation.[4]

During the year 1780, Dyk's version was produced with varying success by the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig,[5] by Schröder in Hamburg,[6] and by the Wäser Gesellschaft in Breslau.[7] In Bonn it appeared for the first time three years later,[8] when its ephemeral existence as a stage production seems to have come to an end. Before its disappearance from the boards, however, it had the distinction of being translated into French by Belloy under the title of *Pierre le cruel.* It was performed in Paris in 1781; its failure was responsible for the death of the author.[9] Dyk's play cannot have quite lost its popularity with its disappearance from the stage, for it appeared in Augsburg, in 1794,[10] in the collection of the *Deutsche Schaubühne,* under a new title, *Zwei unruhige Nächte oder Neigung und Abneigung.* This is a reprint in toto of Dyk's play of 1780, with Dyk's preface, as Köster shows.[11]

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bibliothek is bound as the second play, in one volume with Gotter's *Das öffentliche Geheimnis,* the two dramas being entitled: *Zwey-Schauspiele für das deutsche Theater bearbeitet.* (8°. Leipzig, Dyk, 1781.) A copy of this book is also in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

[4] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 210 f.

[5] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, October 15, 1780. The Saxon audience was not at all enthusiastic.

[6] "Comoedien Zetteln": October 23, 24, 25, 1780. Hamburg.

[7] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, June 2, 1781. The article again comments upon the dubious success achieved.

[8] Reichardt's *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, p. 67. The music of the Cantata was especially written by Hiller.

[9] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, December 22, 1781.

[10] Listed as 1788 in the Catalogue of the British Museum. The copy in the Bavarian Nationalbibliothek, Munich, is of 1794, however.

[11] For the detailed discussion see above, p. 57 f.

Werthes himself, following his translation of the major part of Gozzi, made two special adaptations from the Venetian dramatist. The first of these was *I fratelli nemici,* which Werthes entitles *Die zwey feindlichen Brüder,* and published at Bern, 1782.[12] Later it was republished in Hamburg under the title of *Brigella. Ein Schauspiel aus dem Italiänischen (des Carlo Gozzi) . . . .* 1791. *Anhang zu C. Gozzis Theatralischen Werken in fünf Theilen.*

The plot is somewhat similar to that of Schiller's *Räuber:* the rivalry of two brothers, one good, one evil; an old father imprisoned by the wicked younger brother (in this case, however, the father of the heroine), and the final triumph of the good brother, who wins the kingdom and his beloved. It is written in Werthes' usual abrupt, yet plastic style. It has not been possible to trace its success or failure on the stage—in fact, it is doubtful whether it was ever actually presented.

The second adaptation made by Werthes was of *Le due notte affannose,* which he entitled *Die zwey schlaflosen Nächte oder der glückliche Betrug.* He placed the action in a German milieu and changed the honest Pantalone into a feminine confidante, Frau von Rieden.[13] This version was performed in 1786 at the Imperial Theatre in Vienna[14] and at the Churfürstliche Theater in Munich.[15] Previous to this,

[12] Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 318. A copy exists in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Wurzbach has it *Die zwey feindselige Brüder,* Leipzig, 1782.

[13] *Die zwey schlaflosen Nächte oder der glückliche Betrug,* Wien, 1785. Köster erroneously gives 1775 as the date: *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 320. The copy in the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna is of particular interest because it was prepared for Viennese stage production, and strictly censors with red ink all speeches and sentiments that might wound the delicate, conventional nerves of the Austrian court, as well as all lines that could be construed, no matter in how far-fetched a manner, into lèse majesté!

[14] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* Berlin, March 24, 1787.

[15] *Ibid.,* May 26, 1787.

however, (December 7, 1780) there had taken place in Salzburg a performance of the play in the original form, which Werthes gave in the fifth volume of the Bern edition of his translation of 1777-1779. Schikaneder put on this production under the following title: *Peter der Grausame oder die zwei schlaflosen Nächte. Schauspeil in fünf Aufzügen nach C. Gozzi von Werthes.* Of special interest is the fact that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote the arias for this performance.[16]

Werthes' stage version made of Gozzi's play a polite society drama. The episode of the unborn child, which might have shocked the conventional sensibilities of the average spectator of that period, he omitted entirely. He also did some admirable work in cutting the many asides and speeches expressive of the actors' feelings which encumber the action of the original. His aim seems to have been to have the mimic play of the actors substitute for these disturbing intercalations of Gozzi. On the whole, however, Werthes adhered fairly closely to the original version, introducing changes only in one or two instances where the lines might have been construed as expressing sentiments against reigning princes. For instance, in Act III, Scene 4, Johann says in the first Werthes version: "A rare specimen for a cabinet of collections—a petrified lordship." This became in the new version: "Honor? As if the protection of the Prince were a shameful thing!" Again in Act IV, Scene 7, Johann declares in the earlier translation: "The Prince thinks that you have left. These gentlemen, God help us, have their spies everywhere." Needless to say, the last statement was carefully omitted for stage purposes. The drama in the stage adaptation has also suffered loss through the deletion of many of the amusing speeches of the masks, which were quite coarse, to be sure, yet at the same time lent a characteristic Gozziesque touch to the whole.

[16] Doctor E. K. Blümml, *Aus Mozarts Freundes- und Familienkreis.* 1923. Verlag Strache, p. 145.

Albert Köster uses the Dyk version discussed above as an example of the type of Gozzi adaptation which "flooded the German stage at that time."[17] He skims the following twenty years with the remark: "A pause of twenty years ensued."[18] It is our duty for the rest of this chapter to discuss the period which he dismisses so lightly and to show that the "forgotten Gozzi" furnished rich material, particularly for the German operatic stage, during all of these years.

It is not strange, perhaps, that in Hamburg, the city which had already produced a number of Gozzi plays, there should have been staged during the summer months of 1782 a rather interesting phenomenon which enjoyed such popularity that it was given repeatedly during the rest of the year.[19] This was *Der Triumph der Tugend oder Der Mund der Wahrheit,* a spectacular "Chinese ballet in two acts by Herr Sacco."[20] The author, who was evidently quite familiar with the fiabe of Gozzi, successfully combined various motifs into a charming whole. Into the exotic Chinese atmosphere suggested by *Turandot* he transferred a part of the action of *Il re cervo,* cleverly combined with elements gleaned from *L'augellino belverde* and particularly from *I pitocchi fortunati.*

The action of the "ballet" is briefly as follows: The philosopher Confucius, feeling his end approaching, bequeathed to his pupil, Emperor Ho-ant-gi, a statue endowed with wondrous power. In order to discover a woman worthy of himself, the emperor was to ask each one in presence of the statue whether she loved him and would be true to him. If the face of the statue smiled at her reply, she was lying; but if it kept a serious aspect, her fidelity and love could be relied upon. The first act reveals a magnificent hall, in the background of which is the statue of Confucius. Maidens and

[17] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 219.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

[19] June 22, July 25, August 5, August 14, August 26, September 4, September 13, October 24, November 1, November 11, December 3, 1782.

[20] Comoedien Zetteln, 1782. Hamburg.

slaves are dancing. The first mandarin, Fo-ho-lin, enters, to announce the arrival of His Majesty, and he arranges the fair dancers systematically in line. All are happy, for each one thinks herself endowed with sufficient charm to aspire to the rank of empress. Amid great pomp the emperor enters, and addresses maiden after maiden; but, as the statue does not cease smiling, he dismisses each in turn with gifts. At last Ping-sing, a Mingrelian slave, attracts his attention by her grace and vivacity. Yet the statue is no kinder to her than to her companions. Ho-ant-gi is about to stop the interrogation in disgust when he observes one whose modest bearing sets her apart from the rest. Hang-tsi, the girl is, however, the favorite slave of Fo-ho-lin, who feels for her a love which she does not reciprocate. The mandarin becomes insanely jealous, and tries to distract the Emperor's attention from her, but in vain. She is questioned in the usual manner; the statue remains immovable. This is all the Emperor needs to fix his determination. He orders her to be placed in a closed sedan-chair and to be taken to the temple, where the marriage ceremony is to be performed at once. While the Emperor is expressing his gratitude to the statue, Fo-ho-lin adroitly substitutes Ping-sing for Hang-tsi, so that the former is borne off to the Temple. He himself drags his slave off to an adjoining apartment. The Emperor and his retinue depart.

Thus far the plot has followed exactly the story of the first act of *Il re cervo,* with the exception of the substituting of the Mingrelian for Hang-tsi: King Deramo wins in like manner Angela, beloved of the scoundrelly first minister, Tartaglia, by the aid of a similar statue given him by the magician Durandarte.

Henceforward the fable follows the plot of other fiabe. Fo-ho-lin returns dragging Hang-tsi with him. She desires to be true to Ho-ant-gi, but just as she is about to fall a prey to the passion of the mandarin (cf. Tartaglia and Zemrude in *I pitocchi fortunati*) Hang-tsi prays in her anguish

of soul to the statue of Confucius, which suddenly becomes alive, (cf. Calmon, the living statue in *L'augellino belverde*) tears Hang-tsi from the grasp of the lustful mandarin and assures her protection for her virtue. At first the mandarin scorns his threats, but suddenly overcome with fear he jumps out of the nearest window. Hang-tsi expresses her profound gratitude to her rescuer.

The rise of the curtain on the second act reveals the interior of a brilliantly illuminated, transparent, delicately wrought Chinese temple. A triumphal procession enters, including a closed sedan-chair containing Ping-sing and Emperor Ho-ant-gi, borne by mandarins. (Cf. the marriage of Muzaffer and the veiled monstrosity in *I pitocchi fortunati.*) The marriage ceremony with the veiled Mingrelian slave is about to be performed, when thunder, lightning and flames suddenly rage and the altar, as by magic, vanishes. (The sudden storms, hailing the advent of some retributive justice, are an adjunct to all of Gozzi's fiabe.) In its place, the ghost of Confucius appears, rends the veil of Ping-sing, and unfolds to the Emperor the treachery of the first minister. Ho-ant-gi and Hang-tsi are married by the spirit of the great philosopher. On the plea of mercy by the new Empress, the Emperor pardons the malefactors (cf. the ending of *Turandot* and *Il re cervo*) and joy reigns supreme. This skilful interweaving of various threads of the Gozzi fiabe foreshadowed the later manipulation of these delightful fantasies for operatic use and their transfer into that magic world where melody, imagery, poetry and colorful fancy harmoniously blend into one.

While Sacco was delighting the theatregoers of Hamburg with this ballet, an actor in Vienna, Friedrich Schletter, inspired by Schmidt's *Hermannide,* put Gozzi's *Il trionfo dell' Amicizia* into German. Schletter made his adaptation in a competition for a prize and, like his predecessor Schmidt, was fortunate enough to win the coveted reward with his five-

act drama, *Karl von Freystein oder die Schule der Jünglinge.* We have not been able to discover a manuscript or a printed edition of this play. It does not seem to have been very successful, for the only cities which, according to contemporary notices, staged it, were Leipzig[21] and Hamburg,[22] Schletter's adaptation introduced changes which were not approved by contemporary criticism which felt the need of a more fundamental revision of Gozzi's defective plot.[23] Both Gozzi and Schletter are reproved because the mainspring of action, Karl's mistress, does not appear on the stage at all, so that the audience is uncertain whether or not she deserves the treatment meted out to her and the hero, and is therefore dissatisfied at the end. Gozzi's lame ending, which seems to have been responsible for the lack of popularity of this play in Italy, sends the young roué, Don Ramiro, who has been guilty of murder, to some years of imprisonment in a fortress, surely a weak and tragic ending to a humorous play. Schletter in no wise improves on the work of his predecessor for the German version pardons Karl so that he goes scot-free, a conclusion which is, perhaps, in harmony with the American moving picture melodrama of the twentieth century, but could scarcely satisfy the decorous, conventional theatre-goer of 1782. Schletter also spoiled the figure of the merry, irresponsible Don Ramiro by making him into a cold and moody Karl von Freystein, who rants his way through the play. Furthermore, instead of picking out the best parts and compressing these into vivid action, he pads the drama with further unnecessary scenes. No wonder, then, that the work disappeared so quickly from the boards.

Undeterred by the slight measure of success attained by

[21] On September 15, 1782. *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung.* Berlin, December 21, 1782.

[22] November 18, 21, 28, 1782. Comoedien Zetteln, Hamburg.

[23] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* November 23, 1782, March 3, 1783.

Karl von Freystein, Schletter translated another of Gozzi's plays, *La principessa filosofa.* This appeared in 1784[24] as *Die philosophische Dame,* and provided the German theater with a plot which has proven of sufficient interest to attract full houses to the present day.[25] This play Gozzi had culled from the works of Moreto,[26] though he had changed it in his own characteristic fashion, as he did so many Spanish plays. Schletter's version was performed for the first time at the National theater in Vienna on May 8, 1784, and was repeated several times during the months of May and June.[27] The only other places where it obtained a hearing were Regensburg, where Emanuel Schikaneder staged it on October 31 and December 10, 1787,[28] and Breslau, November 22, 1788,[29] where it was greeted with applause. A contemporary reviewer criticizes Schletter for transferring the action from Italy to Germany, stating that "such servants and such jests are not at home in Germany."[30] He also considers the play entirely too long for the comfort of the audience.

As has been stated above, the names of the dramatis personæ become German. No real change of character occurs, although the subordinate part of Cousin Amalie is expanded to much greater proportions than in the original play. Gozzi's motivation of entrances, exits, of speeches and so forth has also been considerably improved. Schletter wrote in the prose style of Werthes, whose work he evidently used as a model. *Die philosophische Dame* deserved a better fate than the early oblivion into which it fell. Its Italian original was later in the hands of Vienna's greatest theatrical director,

[24] Published by Kruzbeck, Vienna, 1784.

[25] See below, pp. 66, 84.

[26] See above, p. 21.

[27] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, July 3 and August 21, 1784.

[28] *Neues Theater Journal für Deutschland,* Leipzig, 1789, pp. 77, 78.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[30] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, July 3, 1784.

Joseph Schreyvogel, to furnish the Danube city with its most successful adaptation from Gozzi.[31]

The same year that saw in Vienna the production of *Die philosophische Dame* by Schletter, witnessed the publication in Frankfort of another version[32] of the ever popular *Glücklichen Bettler,*[33] the work of Carl Friedrich Zimdar, an actor originally of Berlin, but at this time a member of the troupe of Madame Wäser in Breslau.[34] Whether or not this is the play staged by Christian Rossbach in Vienna on the Schauspielbühne am Neuen Markt on June 12, 1787[35] and in the Theater am Spittelberge, July 18, 1787, under the title of *Der König in fünferlei Gestalten oder die glücklichen Bettler,*[36] it has not been possible to determine. There is no doubt, however, that the comedy produced in the Theater auf der Landstrasse under the direction of Elise Kettner on Friday, January 4, 1793, *Die glücklichen Bettler oder Wer nicht schwimmen kann geht unter, Lustspiel in 3 Aufzügen aus 1001 Nacht nach Gozzi* von Zimdar,[37] is the same play as that printed nine years previously in Frankfort. However, it has not been possible to gather any further data concerning it.

As further evidence of the growth of the Gozzi interest in the decade following the appearance of Werthes' translation, may be noted its reflection in the narrative literature of the period. Count Carl Fr. Reinhard published in the *Schwäbische Museum* (Kempten) in 1785 and 1786 *Zobeide,* "a fiaba by Gozzi." Here the comedy is retold in story form in imita-

[31] Cf. below, p. 88.

[32] Cf. above, p. 43.

[33] Library of the British Museum, London, England.

[34] *Neues Theater Journal für Deutschland,* Leipzig, 1788, p. 44.

[35] E. K. Blümml and G. Gugitz, *Die Frühzeit der Wiener Vorstadt Bühne,* Schroll, 1923, p. 194.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 196.

[37] Program from the archives of the "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Musikvereinsgebäude," Vienna.

tion of Wieland's manner, but the narrative is far too long-drawn out to be at all interesting.[38]

Another proof of the widespread interest in our author is to be found in certain serial stories which ran through the magazines of the day, the plots of which are strongly reminiscent of Gozzi. As an example of this type, we may adduce *Feenbrunst und Märchenliebe oder Liebschaften der Fee Champagner,* a German fairy tale by Cunz von Rosen and Wilibald Spatz.[39]

This story not only bases its plot on the tale of *La donna serpente,* but uses the Gozziesque manner of satire against an existing literary evil. In this particular instance, the satire is directed against the romances of knights and of robber chieftains so prevalent at this time. That the authors were well acquainted with the Gozzi drama is apparent from similarities in plot and character as well as from many speeches like that in which the vainglorious Radulph boasts of his prowess: "Let your magic evoke a dragon out of whose brazen throat flames forth a stream of fire, as out of the rocky mortar of Gibraltar. . . . . If but one point, be it never so tiny, be vulnerable, its fire shall cool shortly." Later on the story, forgetting its origin, loses its way in the quicksands of a bizarre, unfinished episode.

The adaptability of Gozzi's light, fantastic plays to musical accompaniment, has already been noted and the successful weaving together of motives from four of them into a "ballet" by Sacco in Hamburg has been described (p. 61 above). A more ambitious effort was now made to build an opera on one of the Venetian's plays. This then appeared in Dresden in 1786 as *Das Ungeheuer oder Liebe aus Dankbarkeit, komisches Singspiel von Caterino Mazzolà,* "dramatist of the Prince of Saxony." The music was by Seidelmann, who had

[38] W. Lang, "Graf Reinhard als deutscher Dichter." *VLG,* 6, pp. 251-77.

[39] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* III, 325 ff. 1786.

already produced a score for Gotter's *Tartarisches Gesetz.* Mazzolà wrote the text of his libretto both in Italian and in German, basing the one directly upon Gozzi, the other on the Werthes translation. Though he did not follow Gozzi's version in all its ramifications, he used most advantageously the central plot of *Il mostro turchino.* In the original Italian play Zelu, a spirit of the supernal regions, because of his overweening pride in his own beauty, had been changed into a hideous blue monster. He could regain his former estate only by plunging a pair of constant, incorruptible lovers into a gulf of misfortunes and accidents. The lovers were found in Taer, Prince of Nankin, and Dardane, Princess of Georgia. They were on their way to Nankin, their home, when they were separated by Zelu, to whose grotto Dardane found her way. He acquainted her with her impending troubles and changed her into a man. After her departure, Taer, who also comes to the grotto, is changed into the form of the blue monster, while Zelu resumes his former shape. Both Taer and Dardane are warned on no account to reveal themselves.

Dardane, in man's attire, under the name of Acmed, enters Nankin and successfully rids the country of the three plagues besetting it: the blue monster, a charmed knight, and a hydra who had demanded the daily sacrifice of a maiden. Acmed is condemned to death, however, on suspicion of having poisoned the wicked queen, whose death is bound up with that of the hydra. Already in the hands of the executioner, Dardane's life is saved by the intervention of the blue monster, who reveals her identity. At the same it dawns upon Dardane that it is her Taer who has somehow been changed into the form of the monster: she declares herself enamored of him, and her husband assumes once more his own form, is recognized as the heir-apparent to the throne, and everyone is made happy.

Around this main plot were gathered minor scenes in which the famous masks found full play for their talents.

Mazzolà used a simplified form of this fiaba for his adapta-

tion. Selinde, Princess of Samarkand (Dardane), wife of Prince Kalmar of Nanking, has to fight only the monster, for neither the wicked knight nor the hydra appear. A prince of the blood royal, Salmaking, combines the weakness of King Fanfur with some of the characteristics of the Italian Pantalone; his niece, Dardenga, instead of being the voluptuous slave-queen of the original, becomes the coquette who scorns all lovers but meets her fate in the transformed Selinde. She ends more happily than her prototype, however, by accepting the heart and hand of Harmonicus (Zelu), the monster, now become a handsome youth, who has caused all the trouble. The droll humor furnished by the masks had to be abandoned. For this Mazzolà substituted an amusing episode in which a farmer, Pilks, was raised by mistake to the throne. His boorishness and vulgarity contrasted comically with the ceremony of the Chinese court. He embodied the spirit of Truffaldino for the German audience.

In the adaptation the play has been greatly condensed and not always to its advantage. Frequently in the dialogue or in the soliloquies, for instance, Gozzi has produced real feeling which touches the heart; this is much less effective in the skeleton form to which Mazzolà reduced these episodes.[40] On the other hand, Mazzolà has often omitted lengthy tirades and repetitions which tended to draw out the fiaba unduly.[41]

During the next few years, there appeared a number of operas based on the fiabe, among them *Das Reh,* by Schmohl,[42] which was performed about 1790, and *König Rabe* by Martelli, Münster, 1790.[43] Between 1791 and 1792 Walter Anton Schwick, (1753-1815), a lawyer of Münster, using Gozzi's dramas, wrote libretti for three operas, which

[40] Cf. *Il mostro turchino,* Gulindi's remorse, Act III, Sc. VII, and *Das Ungeheuer,* Act II, Sc. III; or *Il mostro turchino,* Act II. Sc. VII and VIII; and *Das Ungeheuer,* Act I, Sc. XI.

[41] Cf. *Il mostro turchino,* Act I, Sc. I and III, repeated in Act I, Sc. V; combined by Mazzolà into Act I, Sc. V; etc.

[42] A. Hauffen.

[43] H. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* p. 264.

he entitled: *Die gefundene Statue,* 1793,[44] *Der Rabe,* 1792,[45] and *Das graue* [sic!] *Ungeheuer,* 1793.[46] The music to all was composed by Andreas Bernhard Romberg. We have been able to obtain the libretto of only one of them, Schwick's *Der Rabe,* which, however, is probably typical of the others.

The names of the masks in *Il corvo* have been changed to Badur, Dara, Caleb, and Lolo respectively; otherwise Gozzi's names have been retained. Only the essentials of the plot have been kept; practically all speeches have become songs. The first chorus: "Entkommen, entronnen dem Sturme, dem Wetter," is strongly reminiscent of the first scene of Wagner's *Fliegende Holländer.* All unnecessary material has been omitted, nothing but the chief points remain: Armilla's complaint of being captured; her father's, Norand's, curse; Jennaro's agony of soul, culminating in a trio composed of Jennaro, Armilla, and her maid, Dara, in which each of them invokes the Gods for salvation. In Act II, we are immediately transported to land, King Millo of Frattombrosa and the chorus loudly blessing the day which brings Jennaro safely back to shore. In a trio, Armilla and Millo express their mutual affection, while Jennaro falls a prey to foreboding. Act III shows Millo overcome by rage at the supposed infidelity of his brother. In sweeping lines he denounces him; all the details which Gozzi carefully inserted to motivate the action have been ruthlessly omitted. In the following act, Lolo, who has retained the mask-like character of his Italian prototype, after arousing with his drollness the curiosity of his listeners to fever pitch, finally narrates the story of Jennaro's entrance into the bridal chamber. Thereupon the action is instantaneously transferred to Jennaro's cell, where the spectators listen to his anguish, which is roused to an acute pitch upon Norand's mysterious entrance and his accusation of cowardice. After Norand's

[44] Goedeke, *Grundriss,* VII, p. 322.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 322. Printed in Hamburg, Freistatzky and Rabe, 1794.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 322. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* gives the date as 1790.

exit, Millo enters and upbraids his brother; the latter, unable to bear any more, tells what has happened and turns to stone before Millo's eyes. Unhappiness reigns supreme at the Court of Frattombrosa. After a heart-rending duet with Millo, Armilla, who has heard the whole story, kills herself, so that the words of the prophecy are fulfilled. Jennaro returns to life, Norand forgives everyone, and resuscitates his daughter, and with a jubilant finale the opera terminates.

This libretto shows the aptness of the Gozzi fiaba for the opera; in that fanciful world it comes into its own. In 1794, *Der Rabe* was still applauded in the Theater am Gänsemarkt in Hamburg, where probably the other Schwick-Romberg operas also gained a hearing.

Under date of March 21, 1793, there is listed in the repertoire of the theater in Weimar a play by Vulpius: *Die entwaffnete Rachgier, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Gozzi.* Further details concerning it have not been available.[47]

F. E. Rambach's *Die drey Räthsel,* based on Gozzi's *Turandot,* appeared in Leipzig in 1799. Like all of the Turandot progeny, it has been adequately reviewed by Köster[48] and need, therefore, be mentioned only by title here.

The beginning of the new century saw another opera, played in Prague June 1, 1800: *Der König der Geister,* by Dionys Weber,[49] which speedily met the quiet oblivion of so many of the Gozzi adaptations. The same year saw also the publication of Tieck's *Das Ungeheuer und der versauberte Wald,* which will be discussed in detail in another chapter.

All these minor productions were completely overshadowed by the fact that the great Schiller, in 1802, staged in Weimar his *Turandot.* This drama has been dissected so thoroughly and efficiently by Albert Köster[50] that it does not seem necessary to add anything to his discussion.

[47] B. Litzmann, *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen,* Bd. I, p. 123.
[48] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 173-174.
[49] Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* p. 264.
[50] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 145-234.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

As the century neared its end, the Gozzi interest seemed to turn more and more to the operatic stage. The value of the fiabe for this form of presentation had been mentioned by Schröder (cf. above p. 30), but it was Sacco of Hamburg who first acted on the suggestion. After the early nineties, the librettos adapted from Gozzi increased, as we have seen, although the other two forms of adaptation mentioned above (cf. above p. 56), the direct translation and the melodrama, were not neglected. All of these adaptations were ephemeral in nature. Their intrinsic value was slight, but their popularity, particularly with the music-loving Viennese, was considerable. All paled into insignificance before Schiller's rendering of *Turandot,* a work which set the crown upon the reproductions of Gozzi into German.

After its publication a slight pause ensued. It seemed as though a climax had been reached in Gozzi adaptations, as if no one dared measure himself with the great master. During this interval of two years there appeared, however, the first critical appraisal of Gozzi's works from a German literary historian. This was a series of letters published by Franz Horn in 1803, entitled *Über Carlo Gozzis dramatische Poesie, insbesonderheit über dessen Turandot und die Schillersche Bearbeitung dieses Schauspiels.* The author, just entering on his career as critic, discusses various types of the satire and claims that Gozzi uses "objective satire" as his weapon. "He does not care for Chiari and Goldoni *per se,* he really has no intention of destroying the effect of their plays, which were already committed to destruction by their inherent worthlessness; he visualizes the whole type that he annihilates with such ease."[1] He killed Goldoni's platitudes and Chiari's

[1] Franz Horn, *Über Carlo Gozzis dramatische Poesie,* Penig, 1803, p. 16.

artificial, forced individuality. Yet he was constructive as well as destructive. Horn continues: "If the polemic tendency were removed from *L'amore delle tre melarance,* it would lose some of its piquancy, nevertheless that vivacity of presentation, that agreeable humor, that playful parody of seriousness, in fact all its attractions, cannot be taken from it,"[2] for Gozzi was inherently a poet, even if he had never produced anything at all. Horn criticizes him, however, for calling his plays tragi-comedies. He thinks that the term "romantic" would have been far more suitable, because the audiences passed so readily from tears to laughter and from mirth to grief. "The tragic and the comic never stand alone, they have interpenetrated each other thoroughly."[3] Yet the critic feels that the instinct for wit and fancy are more deeply implanted in Gozzi than the sense of pathos.[4] "It seems as though there had been but little reflex action for tragic seriousness in the mind of our poet,—as though he had almost been forced to present it out of his head, as it were."[5] Horn goes on to say that in *L'amore delle tre melarance,* Gozzi showed a "rare abundance of dramatic talent for charming humor" and that he had attained the summit of his romantic art in *Il corvo.* Yet he carefully points out that this is by no means the zenith of all romantic art, and like Friedrich Schlegel, the young critic points to Shakespeare as the highest example. In *Turandot,* he finds that Gozzi has already deteriorated somewhat: "A just punishment for having even to a slight degree given in to the insipid pretensions of his opponents."[6] Schiller, therefore, ought not to have chosen *Turandot* by which to introduce Gozzi to Germany. Horn also censures the Weimar poet for having deepened the psychology of *Turandot:* "Schiller produces a hybrid type—a combination of novel and fairy-tale,—when he motivates Turandot's hatred for men. This ought not to have been

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 18. [3] *Ibid.,* pp. 19-21. [4] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 74. [6] *Ibid.,* p. 104.

done. A fairy-tale does not psychologize,"[7]—it is willful, arbitrary, and this wayward caprice is the hidden spring of its charm. Doubtless Franz Horn overestimated in his youthful enthusiasm the value of Gozzi; yet many of his judgments have been justified by the mature critical opinion of later decades.[8]

In the following year, meanwhile, a new writer took courage and produced another translation from the Italian of our author, or rather changed the German of the Werthes translation to suit his own purposes. In 1804 Breitkopf und Härtel, the well-known Leipzig publishing firm, advertised *Der Rabe. Dramatisches Mährchen aus dem Italiänischen des Karl Gozzi* von G. A. Wagner. This work was carefully reviewed by a contemporary critic of the *Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung*.[9] The reviewer, recognizing the merit of Gozzi's "genialische dramatische Märchen," calls it "a not unhappy venture" on the part of the new translator. Wagner improves on the Werthes' translation in that he reproduces not only the sense of the original, but uses the meter employed by Gozzi, verse and prose alternating as they do in *Il corvo*. He is reproved, however, for having grown somewhat careless in his iambics toward the end of the play, for it seems to the critic as though the translator's patience had become exhausted and he had been in a hurry to finish the comedy. Attention is also drawn to a number of errors both in style and material; for example, Wagner speaks of the island

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 63 f.

[8] L. Bellermann is somewhat harsh in saying of Horn that his presentation causes a disagreeable impression by means of a certain obtrusive self-laudation, and a little further on in charging the critic with pedantic exactitude in scoring up petty errors against his victims. The present writer must confess to no such feeling of impatience in reading Franz Horn's book. *Schillers Werke,* Meyers Klassiker Ausgabe. L. Bellermann, Einleitung, XII, 454.

[9] *Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung,* Nr. 39. Halle and Leipzig, February, 1806. I have not been able to secure this book.

of the Giudecca as a street, which shows his ignorance of the very elements of Venetian geography. More serious is the fact that he did not do justice to the spirit of Pantalone, who is one of the most delightful of Gozzi's creations. Nevertheless, these defects did not prevent the critic from pronouncing the whole translation a creditable piece of work.

A year later appeared the opera *Scheheristany oder die Reise durch die Luft. Eine romantisch-komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen.* The music was by Johann Zapf, conductor of the orchestra in Linz. From the only libretto available,[10] comprising only the arias and songs, it is evident that at least a part of the plot is taken from Gozzi's *La donna serpente.* Scheheristany, a fairy of partly human origin (cf. Cherestani in *La donna serpente*), for her father was mortal, falls in love with King Tarandos. She appears to him as a doe, while he is hunting. Accompanied by his servant, Murzio, he follows her. They are transferred to her palace. Upon the sudden death of her father she is called away, and with her departure the palace, the food, all signs of human habitation disappear, much to the dismay of the King and his attendant. Later the fairy is instrumental in saving the lives of several mortals. The outcome of her love-affair with King Tarandos is not given. The King's follower, Murzio, and the fairy's nymph, Baliena, are strongly reminiscent of Gozzi's masks, Truffaldino and Smeraldina. It is impossible to deduce the intrinsic value of this opera from so defective a text. The fact remains, however, that *Scheheristany* is without doubt modelled upon the fifth fiaba.

Carl Streckfuss's[11] dramatic adaptations—*Zeim, König der Geister,* and *Die zwey Geheimnisse,* the latter based upon *Il re cervo*—merit the criticism of excessive seriousness

[10] In the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

[11] Carl Streckfuss (1778-1844) studied law, entered the government service and rose to the rank of Wirklicher Oberregierungsrath just before his death. *Märchen nach Gozzi.* Berlin, Unger, 1805.

given them by Köster.[12] Streckfuss is but another in the long line of German writers who failed entirely to catch the spirit of mockery and fun which is the quintessence of Gozzi-ism. Unable to use the masks, he omitted them as far as possible. Where they had to be inserted on account of the plot, Truffaldino in *Zeim* and Tartaglia in *Il re cervo,* he deleted all the drollness which makes the characters bearable, and turned them into serious melodramatic villains.

It is all but forgotten that Gozzi wrote not only plays, but short stories, in which he showed excellently the style used by the Italian artists in the "novella." Of these, eleven are preserved in the eighth volume of the first edition of his collected works. They are told with that plasticity of imagery and rapidity of action which had become characteristic of this type of literature in Italy. The fact that they had not been translated by Werthes left them utterly unknown in Germany. It is of special interest, therefore, to find printed anonymously in a German periodical of 1806 a translation of the fourth tale, of Gianni Tina, the Cobbler of Milan, bearing the title *Der juristische Schuhflicker.*[13] It is the story of a simple cobbler who had a liking for law. Through pure love of justice, he acted most unjustly toward his fellow men. Following up cases at court, he used to pass judgment upon the culprit independently of the tribunal. If the decision of the court did not coincide with his own, he would pursue the released prisoner and murder him in cold blood, not out of any feeling of private enmity, but simply because he considered him worthy of death and unjustly rescued from his proper fate by legal chicanery. He therefore took it upon himself to play the part of an avenging nemesis. Finally caught and brought to trial, he defends himself splendidly.

[12] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 228-29.

[13] *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift,* hrsg. von Biester. XVI, Julius bis Dezember, 1806. Berlin, Nicolai.

It could not be denied that the majority of his victims had been considered by popular opinion deserving of the death penalty. Yet the state could not suffer so dangerous an executioner to remain at large among his fellow citizens. The anonymous German translator points out in a short preface his interest in the psychology of the hero of this tale: "I remember distinctly," he writes, "discussing this strange phenomenon with a friend. . . . . He used to say that he knew a number of people who, under different surroundings, would be capable of the same excesses; he called them irreproachable men of excellent reputation, only too enthusiastic for that which seemed to them a matter of justice and liberty. Basically this was probably the same frame of mind which governed later the actions of the leaders of the Revolution."[14]

The story is excellently translated and on this account, although not a stage production, deserves mention here.

While *Der juristische Schuhflicker* passed entirely unnoticed by contemporaries, an opera, based on Gozzi's *La zobeide,* was widely advertised for a whole year[15] before it was actually produced. This was Ludwig Robert's opera in three acts: *Die Sylphen,*[16] the music being composed by Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, conductor of the Prussian Court orchestra.

A cursory glance at the dramatis personae of *Die Sylphen* reveals at once the fact that Robert changed radically the names of the characters of his opera, usually substituting others more acceptable to his audiences because they more nearly approximated those of other operas. Particularly effective is the change wrought in the masks. The well-

[14] *Ibid.,* XVI, 1806.

[15] *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* Heft 18, November 8, 1806.

[16] *Die Sylphen. Eine Zauberoper in drey Aufzügen nach Gozzi* von Robert. Berlin, 1806. Bei Rudolph Werckmeister.

known Mozart figures of Papagena and Papageno, and Leporello are used in place of Smeraldina, Truffaldino, and Brighella; while the names of Larifari and Minnewart, replacing Pantalone and Tartaglia, were self-explanatory. In addition, Robert superimposed upon Gozzi's fiaba and wove into it a whole structure of sylphs, male and female, after whom the opera is named. The main plot adheres closely to the story of the Italian fiaba. The connecting link between the world of sylphs and of humans is the heroine, Zobea, the child of Osmar, King of Ormus and a Princess of the sylphs. After suffering tortures very similar to those of her prototype, Zobeide, she is finally made happy by being united with Zelu[17], prince of the sylphs and protecting genius of the good characters of the opera. In addition to transforming the old Calendar Abdalac into the young and charming Genius Zelu, another happy change consisted in having Zobea merely betrothed to the wicked sorcerer Sinabel instead of having her married to him, as is the case in the Italian version. This paved the way to their union in the end. The fundamental idea, therefore, which moved Ludwig Robert to insert a world of supernatural beings into Gozzi's story, was good. It is to be regretted that the execution did not measure up to the promise. The new element was not knit closely enough with the old to produce a harmonious unity of action, and the effect of the whole was, therefore, confusing and difficult of comprehension, although separate scenes afforded a good deal of enjoyment. The audiences felt embarrassed by the multiplicity of detail which, although imposing to the eye and ear, was bewildering to the mind.[18] It is not surprising therefore that but few performances of this opera are recorded in the annals of the theatre.

La zobeide attracted at almost the same time the attention

[17] Cf. Zelou Genius, in *Il mostro turchino.*

[18] *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* Heft 18, November 8, 1806.

of Friedrich Treitschke,[19] who made of it a "romantic drama" in five acts. It was printed in the *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1807*. In the "Intelligenzblatt" of the *Neue Leipziger Litteraturzeitung* an article discussing it states: "Only the fashion which has changed everything nowadays to 'Taschenbücher' has placed this play among those published this year."[20] Treitschke adhered closely to Gozzi's drama. He raised the character of Sinadab so that he became a truly romantic figure, rather than merely a heartless villain:

> Mein Elend ist—das Unmass meiner Kraft.
> Zu wenig gab mir die Natur zum *Gott*,
> Zu viel zum *Menschen*.[21]

The masks cause Treitschke as many difficulties as they had his predecessors. He adopted the method employed by Ludwig Robert, replacing them by four comic figures of the German stage. He justified his experiment in a preface[22] in which he states that the Italian masks in themselves furnish the finest example of amusing stock figures used as a contrast to the unknown tragic characters of the play. By this argument he tries to justify the term "romantic drama." Köster has discussed this comic element at sufficient length,[23] pointing out that "if ever a fiaba by Gozzi is to make an impression upon our [the German] stage, it will be possible only when a real poet turns to reproducing the action of the fairy-drama, without stooping to experiment with minor characters."[24]

[19] Friedrich Treitschke (1776-1842), poet and entomologist, was active as actor, manager, director, and financier at the Hoftheater in Vienna from 1792 until his death.

[20] *Neue Leipziger Litteraturzeitung*, Intelligenzblatt, 4. Stück, January 24, 1807.

[21] Friedrich Treitschke, *Zobeis*, Wien, Degen, p. 157.

[22] *Ibid.*, Vorwort zu *Zobeis*, pp. v-viii.

[23] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, p. 229 ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

During the same year the *Theaterzeitung von Bäuerle*[25] advertised a version "of the wittiest and most amusing of all of Gozzi's plays, *Il re cervo,* newly rendered into German by G. L. P. Sievers of Braunschweig." It was produced at the Magdeburg Theater. Unfortunately it has not been possible to secure this book. Its author at the same time published two articles[26] seeking to explain Gozzi, which furnish an excellent example of the idealized interpretation of the Italian dramatist given by the exponents of German Romanticism.

The year 1807 was destined to be fruitful for Gozzi interpretations in Germany. A. J. Guttenberg[27] adapted Schiller's *Turandot* for the Theater an der Wien. His version differs from Schiller's principally in that it reduced many long, explanatory speeches to a minimum; transferred the action from China to Persia, changing Emperor Altoum into Cosru, Sofi of Persia, but keeping all the other names, including the masks. In brief, von Guttenberg adapted *Turandot* for a certain, definite stage, with a view primarily to meeting its needs.

By this time, Gozzi had become so popular that the publisher, J. E. Hitzig, the friend of Zacharias Werner, Clemens Brentano, and E. T. A. Hoffmann, felt justified in issuing an Italian edition of the fiabe in three volumes.[28] In the first, is contained a very good prefatory note, in which Hitzig explains his undertaking:

[25] *Theaterzeitung von Bäuerle,* Nr. 17, November 2, 1807.

[26] *Ibid.,* October 10 and November 2, 1807.

[27] *Turandot. Ein tragikomisches Märchen von Schiller.* Für das K.K. privilegierte Theater an der Wien in drey Aufzügen bearbeitet von A. J. Guttenberg, Wien, bei Anton Pichler, 1807.

[28] It bears a double title: *Le dieci fiabe teatrali del Conte Carlo Gozzi;* and, *Le opere del Conte Carlo Gozzi.* Berlin, 1808. *Die allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (cf. J. E. Hitzig, biography, article on J. E. Hitzig), erroneously gives 1809 and 1810 as the dates of publication.

"Within a short period of time there have followed upon one another versions of several plays of Carlo Gozzi by recent German authors, such as *Turandot* by Schiller, *Der Rabe* by Franz Horn, Wagner, Streckfuss, *Der König Hirsch* by Sievers, *Zobeis* by Treitschke, and the opera *Die Sylphen.* These have awakened in Germany an interest in this excellent poet, and the necessity for a correct and moderately priced edition of his works is felt to be urgent, the more so because those published in Italy are not only rare but also extremely expensive. The undersigned editor of the first edition appearing in his country believes therefore that he has not undertaken an unnecessary task by doing this and, if the public will support his effort, he will use all zeal and strain every nerve to publish the continuation in as short a time as possible."[29]

Hitzig based his edition on that of Venice, 1772, omitting the "Ragionamenti," the contents of which, as purely polemical in nature, were deemed unnecessary for an appreciation of the fiabe, so that their publication would only have materially increased the cost of the books, without adding anything to the enjoyment afforded by them. Doubtless the issue of the Italian Gozzi was instigated by Hitzig's literary friends, who must have rejoiced in thus being able to read the fairy-dramas in the original.

During the same year, Johann Friedrich Reichardt[30] was working on an opera, *Das Blaue Ungeheuer,* during the period of his activity at the French court in Cassel. Clemens Brentano heard the overture while he was on a visit there and enjoyed the music very much,[31] but criticized Reichardt severely for attempting to write the libretto himself. By

[29] Vorrede zu *Le opere del Conte Carlo Gozzi.* Tomo I. Berlin, 1808.

[30] Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), the musician, one of the most interesting figures of his time. He composed the music for many of Goethe's Singspiele.

[31] Rudolf Steig: *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen.* Stuttgart, 1894, I, 232.

December, 1808, Reichardt had finished the third act.[32] Though the work is listed (without date) among Reichardt's musical compositions for the stage,[33] the attempt to find it proved unsuccessful. Just as fruitless were all endeavors to locate an opera entitled *Turandot oder die Räthsel; tragikomische Oper in zwei Aufzügen nach Gozzi und Schiller.* Musik von J. F. G. Blumröder, München, 1809.[34]

It is an interesting fact that, throughout this epoch, the majority of the greatest literary men which Germany and Austria produced were interested in, and under the influence of, Carlo Gozzi at some stage in their career. Franz Grillparzer proved no exception. *Il corvo* captured his fancy while he was still a very young boy. "My whole power of imagination concentrated upon Gozzi's *Corvo* in German translation, which I preferred greatly to the dramas of Goethe, Schiller, and Shakespeare," he wrote in his autobiography.[35] At first he intended to turn the play into an opera.[36] After writing two scenes, however, he abandoned the project and on August 22, 1814, he began to translate it.[37] These fragments, to which belongs a third, consisting of part of Act II, Scene I, as well as Grillparzer's later unsuccessful attempt to interest Bauernfeld in the project, have been thoroughly and admirably discussed and Grillparzer's

[32] August Sauer, *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* II, 4, p. 481.

[33] Vide *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* article "Joh. Fr. Reichardt."

[34] Goedecke, *Grundriss,* V. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* Leipzig, 1886, lists it under "Blumenröder," 1810. "Bleichröder" is another variant of the name given by August Sauer, *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* II, 4, p. 481.

[35] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Cotta, XIX, 26 f. "Selbstbiographie."

[36] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Wien, II, 4, p. 275. "Selbstbiographie."

[37] *Der Rabe, ein tragikomisches Märchen.* (Übersetzung des *Corvo* vom Grafen Carlo Gozzi.) Cf. *Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Wien, II, 4, pp. 279-306.

text correlated to both the original and Werthes' versions by Wolfgang von Wurzbach.[38] Stefan Hock, in his analysis of *Der Traum ein Leben* traces Gozzi's influence upon this play also. He says:

The fantastic fairy comedies of Gozzi so greatly beloved in Vienna have their influence upon the costume of the play and determined in addition many other individual features. There appear dreadful serpents upon the stage (*Donna serpente; Corvo);* proud princesses and weak fathers *(Turandot)* belong to the same type as Gülnare and the King. An incident in the *Corvo,* which Grillparzer knew from early childhood and repeatedly wished to adapt, coincides almost literally with some verses of *Der Traum ein Leben.* The situation, too, is very similar. Scene: Jennaro is in the antechamber of the king; Millo[39] finds him and orders his arrest. "Que' traditori Ch' osan col ferro ignudo, con un colpo spezzar l'ultima porta?" In a similar situation Rustan says to Karkhan:

> Schafft sie fort, die Hochverräther!—
> Blinkt nicht noch in euren Händen
> Der Empörung freche Stahl?[40]

As in the case of Goethe, Grillparzer's interest in Gozzi never entirely left him. As late as 1837 he wrote, apropos of Raimund: "If Raimund had written three plays of the value of the *Alpenkönig,* his name would never be forgotten in the history of German poetry, as little as Gozzi's name in the annals of the Italians."[41]

While Grillparzer was working on *Il corvo,* the Theater in der Leopoldstadt was producing a fairy-opera called *Die Abenteuer von der Schlangenburg,* both the text and score of which were written by the orchestral conductor Volkert.[42]

[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 482-98.

[39] Stefan Hock erroneously ascribes this speech to Leander.

[40] Stefan Hock, *Der Traum ein Leben,* p. 32.

[41] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Necker, Leipzig, XIV, 123. "Österreichische Schriftsteller, Raimund (1837)."

[42] Performed June 25, July 9, August 12, August 6, 1814, in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* Nr. 81, 1814.

This opera, the heroine of which was a kind of Turandot, whose pride is humbled by the solution of a riddle by Samor, Prince of Andalusia, stood out among the "insipid, fairy performances" of the period by having unity of plot and action.[43]

Already in the early eighties of the preceding century the Viennese actor Schletter had, as we have seen,[44] translated *La principessa filosofa,* Carlo Gozzi's adaptation of Moreto's play, *El desdén con el desdén.* This comedy now found an exponent who was to do it full justice, who, in fact, improved and modernized it in many particulars. Josef Schreyvogel, secretary of the Hoftheater and dramatist of the Burgtheater, who assumed the pseudonyms of Thomas West and Karl August West, accomplished this task in his masterpiece, *Donna Diana.* His keen interest in Gozzi is evidenced by a few quotations from his diary in the period when the Italian dramatist was beginning to cast his spell over him.[45]

November 28, 1815. Night. *Das befreite Venedig* is too gloomy a subject for my present mood. I have begun Gozzi, to see if perchance I may find material in him.

Have read Gozzi's *Die Frau eine Schlange.* It has much vivacity and interest; perhaps I shall adapt it.

Morning, November 29, 1815. Already I am reading a second play by Gozzi *(Das blaue Ungeheuer)* which is but too reminiscent of *Zemir und Azo*r but in other particulars deserves praise. [Schreyvogel must have read Gozzi in the Werthes' translation, for he uses Werthes' titles throughout.]

Noon. This Gozzi is a wonderful man! I want to read him

[43] Meanwhile it is of some interest that Schiller's *Turandot* had passed the boundaries of Germany and, translated into foreign languages, was being acted upon foreign stages. The first of these was a Danish version by M. F. Liebenberg (*Turandot,* Kjøbenhavn, 1815). The author of this version (1767-1828) was a famous preacher, and father of F. L. Liebenberg, the well-known Danish literary historian.

[44] Cf. above, p. 65.

[45] *Josef Schreyvogels Tagebücher* (1810-1823) hrsg. v. Karl Glossy, 1903, Berlin, II, 134 ff.

straight through, and hope to find material for more than one play. He held the Spaniards in high esteem.

Night. December 1. I spent the afternoon looking once more through Yngurd and re-reading *Das blaue Ungeheuer*. I am still undecided whether or not to adapt the latter.

I was to-day at Count ——'s. I gave him *Das blaue Ungeheuer* to read.

December 3. Night. Gozzi, whom I continued to read, gives me great pleasure, particularly with his comic characters.

December 14. I have again found a play by Gozzi after the Spaniard Moreto *(El Desdén con el desdén)* which may result in a good comedy. I am not lacking in subject-matter.

December 19. Noon. Regardless of my present annoying relationship to the theatre I have to focus my attention upon it. I must come at once to a decision regarding the adaptation of a new play, probably one of Gozzi's.

December 26. I have Moreto in the original; Gozzi followed *El Desdén con el desdén* step by step, but has really improved the play.

Night. Of the Spaniards, Calderón and Moreto furnish a dramatic library in themselves. Gozzi, Alfieri, and Goldoni deserve special attention.

Schreyvogel's diary has been quoted at such length because it shows how the dramatist's attention was first attracted by the fiabe; how the reading of *La principessa filosofa* led him to the Spaniard Moreto; how he carefully compared the Spanish and Italian versions of the play, and finally gained inspiration therefrom to write his own. It is rarely that a development can be followed so accurately step by step.

Donna Diana is written in the iambic pentameter, with rhyme combinations suggestive of Spanish models. The author indicates, in a preface to the first edition of the play,[46]

[46] *Donna Diana.* Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Nach dem Spanischen des Don Augustin Moreto von Karl August West. Original Ausgabe für die Öesterreichische Monarchie, nach freundschaftlicher Übereinkunft mit dem rechtmässigen Verleger. Wien, bei Johannes Bapt. Wallishauser, 1819.

his method of dealing with the material. He points out that he made use of Gozzi's emendations as far as the difference in national taste permitted. He elevated, however, the character of the princess once more to her Spanish grandeur, which had suffered somewhat under Gozzi's manner, always inclining to the burlesque. Perin (in the original, the gracioso, Polilla; in Gozzi, Truffaldino disguised under the name of Gianetto) had been raised to a higher level by Gozzi and in this particular Schreyvogel has followed suit. Gozzi's influence upon Don Cesar was also for the better and Gozzi's words and ideas were accordingly in the German version. In addition, we may note that Schreyvogel, who had a very sound dramatic instinct, threw overboard much of the philosophic ballast of the *Princess* which could be of no interest to his audiences.

Better motivation on an important point was introduced in the printed edition and therefore in the stage productions subsequent to 1819. In the earlier manuscript as well as in the Gozzi version, the two princes, Luis and Gaston, continue their wooing of Diana practically to the very end, and no motivation justifies their sudden proposal to, and acceptance by, her two cousins. This is a rather wooden variation from the procedure in the Spanish play, where there was but one lady to be bestowed and the Prince of Bearne was accepted by her.[47] There is more excuse for this conventional attitude in the Spanish version than in the Italian and German adaptations, because an old Spanish custom ordained that, at the end of the comedy, all single women had to have husbands, even though the latter might be comparative

[47] Wolfgang von Wurzbach in his article "Das spanische Drama am Wiener Hofburgtheater zur Zeit Grillparzers," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft* VIII, 111, errs in ascribing two cousins to Diana in the version by Moreto. He also considers Schreyvogel responsible for deepening the character of Don Gaston, who is colorless in the Spanish. This was, however, done by Gozzi and borrowed by Schreyvogel.

strangers to them. Schreyvogel-West felt the need of motivating on a more profound psychological basis the marriage of these two couples. Two scenes were therefore added, in which each of the princes declared his love to the lady of his choice and was accepted, so that the apparent acceptance of Don Luis and Donna Laura as husband and wife respectively of Donna Diana and Don Cesar becomes a mere ruse conceived in the fertile brain of Perin. That such a motivation corresponded more to German taste than the Spanish custom and therefore greatly enhanced the dramatic power of the whole play is, of course, self-evident. Grillparzer,[48] however, who felt that, while advantageous to the understanding of the play, too much emphasis was being laid upon the minor characters in a third act which was already too crowded with content, suggested certain changes which Schreyvogel did not adopt and which on that account need not be discussed here in greater detail.

Mention should be made of the fact that the plot of *El Desdén con el desdén* was not original with Moreto, but that the idea of conquering pride by greater pride had already been used in five comedies previously, and that both Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina[49] had written plays on the subject. In one of these, *Los Milagros del desprecio,* the plot is guided by the *gracioso* Hernando. Moreto, keeping Polilla in the character of *gracioso,* felt rightly that Lope de Vega had given too important a part to a servant. He therefore had Don Cesar himself evolve the plan with which he was to vanquish Donna Diana, so that Polilla is subordinate to the dictates of his master. Gozzi, probably not at all cognizant

[48] *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Necker, Leipzig, XI, 103 f. "Zu Schreyvogels Donna Diana."

[49] Lope de Vega: *La hermosa fea; El perro del hortelano; Los milagros del desprecio.* Tirso de Molina: *Celos con celos se curan; Del enemigo el primer consejo.* Cf. Gisbert Freiherr von Vincke, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Bühnengeschichte. Spanische Schauspiele in Deutschland,* pp. 148-70.

of the fact that Lope de Vega had written this play, caused the action to be led once more by Hernando-Polilla-Gianetto, who, however, is raised to the dignity of secretary to his mistress Donna Diana—Teodora in the third incarnation. Once more Schreyvogel-West followed the Italian version.

Donna Diana was first performed at the Burgtheater in Vienna on November 18, 1816. So popular did it become that this theater alone, down to June 26, 1894, had staged it 122 times.[50] On May 31,[51] 1817, its première occurred in Breslau. Nothing further appears, until the news of its performance in Leipzig on the following twenty-fourth of September. This was succeeded by six performances in Leipzig during that year,[52] eleven in 1818, and then it became part of the repertoire which was regularly played a number of times every year.[53] In 1818 it was played again in Breslau, and was taken up by Weimar,[54] Darmstadt, Cassel, Braunschweig, and Karlsruhe, and once played, it became an integral part of the repertoires of these stages, where it maintained itself for years. In 1819 it delighted audiences in Hamburg, Berlin, Potsdam, Prague, Hannover, Bamberg, Hessen, and Mayence, in addition to the places already mentioned. In 1820 Würzburg, Lauchstädt, Schleswig-Holstein, Magdeburg, Reval, Innsbruck, and Halle were added to the list. Its triumphal progress captured Stuttgart, Erfurt, Gotha, Frankfort, and Danzig in the following year, so that within five years of its first production there was scarcely an important theatre in Germany which had not enjoyed *Donna Diana.* There are few comedies that can boast of as successful a run as Schreyvogel's adaptation of this Moreto-

[50] Otto Rub, *Das Burgtheater in Wien,* 1776-1913. Wien, Knepler, 1913, p. 47.

[51] Karl Theodor Hell, *Tagebuch der deutschen Bühnen.* Jahrgang 1817.

[52] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang, 1818.

[53] *Ibid.,* Jahrgänge 1819-1830.

[54] All these statistics are to be found in the books of Karl Theodor Hell, mentioned in the above footnote.

Gozzi play, which in this regard established a new tradition for comedy in Germany.

On March 2, 1816, Schreyvogel[55] had written to Kotzebue, asking him to "nationalize" one of Gozzi's dramas for the German stage and commiserating the fact that Schiller, "who had everything except a sense of humor," had adapted one of the colder fairy-tales, the dubious reception of which had frightened away from them other talents more fit for such an undertaking. It was probably beneficial to the German stage that Kotzebue did not take advantage of this opportunity, for had he done so, Schreyvogel might not have written *Donna Diana.* There is scarcely another play of its type which has so thoroughly entered into the spirit of a foreign drama and has assimilated it to the degree which this one has done. Eduard von Bauernfeld,[56] discussing it in his essay on "Die schöne Litteratur in Österreich" in 1835, wrote:

> Even A. von Schlegel's famous translation of Shakespeare cannot be compared with this. This play stands alone and is a permanent acquisition for the German stage. The reason for this may be sought in its fascinating psychological aspects: the development of the heroine, the self-control of its hero—and between them moves the confidant of both, adding fire to flame on the one side, while he preaches icy coldness on the other. These characteristics and circumstances keep their charm for ever and assure *Donna Diana* of a permanent place in German comedy.

Schreyvogel's astounding success entirely obscured a heroic-comical musical version of *Turandot,* which appeared on February 8, 1817, as an opera in two acts, by Franz Danzi.[57] It was performed twice in Karlsruhe, but was quite

[55] *Tagebücher,* p. 435.

[56] Eduard von Bauernfeld, *Gesammelte Aufsätze,* hrsg. von Stefan Hock, p. 149.

[57] E. Reipschläger, *Schubaur, Danzi, und Poissl als Opernkomponisten,* Berlin, 1911, p. 77.

unsuccessful. Three months later a new adaptation of Gozzi's *Il corvo* was produced for the first time under the title of: *Der Kampf mit der Riesenschlange oder der Leuchtthurm auf der Rubineninsel,*[58] with music by Volkert. It was played on April 19 for the benefit of the author, the actor and singer Carl Schikaneder. It was written in the manner of Emanuel Schikaneder's magic operas and therefore did not appeal to the audience of 1817, particularly as the staging was lacking in paraphernalia sufficient to meet its demands. It does not seem to have been produced again.

Adolf Bäuerle's *Verwunschener Prinz,*[59] which appeared in 1818, contains a number of motifs which clearly point to the influence of Gozzi. The prince is changed into a wild beast and it is the constant love of Zamire, who remains faithful to him even in so ferocious a guise, that disenchants him and allows him to resume his own shape (cf. *Il mostro turchino*). The father, Sandelholz, smacks strongly of Truffaldino, while the "Tischlein deck' dich" and the circumstances connected with it are almost identical with a similar incident in *La donna serpente.*

The fiaba which had been acclaimed such an universal favorite in the early days of the Gozzi vogue in Germany[60] and which had then entirely disappeared from the boards, *I pitocchi fortunati,* was destined to be revived once more in 1818 by G. N. Bärmann,[61] under the already well-known title of *Die Glücklichen Bettler.* It was first performed in Hamburg on January 16, 1818. The first task of every translator seems to be to change the names of at least some of the

[58] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung* auf den 24. April, 1817. Nr. 49.

[59] Reprinted in Rudolf Fürst, *Raimunds Vorgänger,* Berlin.

[60] Cf. above, p. 31.

[61] Georg Nicolaus Bärmann, *Die Glücklichen Bettler. Ein tragikomisches Maskenspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Frei nach dem Italienischen des Carlo Gozzi für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet.* Leipzig, Kollmann, 1819. Bärmann (1785-1850) was principal of a school until 1837. After that date he devoted himself entirely to his literary work.

characters of the play which he is using for his model. Perhaps the psychological effect of this gives him a greater feeling of independence—he feels himself less the translator, more the adapter, in whose work there is some spark of originality. Bärmann was no exception to this rule. He changed primarily the names of the masks, save Pantalone's, who, however, lost his own rôle in the play and had to assume the part of Brighella. The drama is written in iambic tetrameter and pentameter, and is based on the Werthes translation of Gozzi.[62]

Bärmann adhered very closely to the plot of the Italian version, making only a minor change near the end.[63] His attempt to deepen the characters of Zemrude and Asmolane by making them the exponents of modern womanhood, are weak and unmotivated. Gozzi had preserved them as true Oriental women (or at least as the common conception of Oriental women) and as such they are much better fitted for the play. Bärmann lengthened the drama by unnecessary lines to such an extent that it becomes wearisome to anyone acquainted with the Gozzi version. In his attempt to change the masks into amusing characters, he has sacrificed the simple directness of the original. His humor seems forced, not spontaneous like Gozzi's. In short, Bärmann added nothing of value, but lost a great deal in his adaptation.[64]

About this time there appeared in a Viennese journal[65] a

[62] It would be easy to prove this assertion by citing lines from the Gozzi version which both Werthes and Bärmann left out, e.g. Act I, Sc. I: "Amanti in quegli arnesi! Qual facezia è mai questa!" Many instances of literal transcription from Werthes may also be adduced.

[63] Act V, Sc. V, to the end.

[64] It seems strange that it should have been reprinted as No. 36 of the *Classische Theater-Bibliothek aller Nationen.* Stuttgart, Carl Hoffmann, 1868. Such was the case, however.

[65] "Die Seelenwanderung. Ein Märchen," von J. F. Castelli. *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1819, p. 83 ff. Castelli, a Viennese poet, was born in the Danube capital in 1781 and died there in 1862.

very amusing poem called *Die Seelenwanderung.* In twenty-seven stanzas of six lines each the poet relates the story of a King Koliko, who is the victim of gross deception by his most intimate friend. The "Seelenwanderung," or transmigration of souls, depends in this case on the speaking of a magic word, the effect of which causes the soul of the speaker to pass into any dead body close at hand. The King's soul enters a deer. During the interval the false friend takes possession of the royal body, the throne, and the Queen, who is entirely unsuspecting of the treachery which has taken place. In the end the King, after having successively entered the bodies of a nightingale and a small dog,[66] succeeds in destroying the imposter and assumes again his own form. As the reader will have already noted, the story of this poem is taken with some unimportant changes from Gozzi's *Il re cervo.*

It has been stated that the popularity of a play on the Vienna stage could be gauged by the number of parodies written upon it. One of these appeared on November 7, 1820, in the Leopoldstädter Theater. The billboards announced: *"Maranterl oder die drei Räthsel. Zauberoper nach Schillers Turandot mit Gesängen und Tänzen* in zwei Aufzügen. Die Musik teils aus beliebten Opern teils original von Hrn. Kapellmeister Volkert."[67] It was an absolutely empty, frivolous travesty on Schiller's play. A comical wanderer fills the dreary interval from the beginning to the main scene, in which the riddles are presented to him, with jests, foolish replies, jocose, ambiguous, or merely stupid ideas. For a moment the attention is focused upon the solution of the riddles, which are reproduced in the form of pictures upon the backdrop. The fact that Ferdinand Raimund and

[66] In Gozzi's version, bird and dog are the two creatures mentioned into which the soul may pass. Cf. above, p. 17.

[67] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode.* 1820. Nr. 140.

the actress Ennökl played the two leading parts bestowed an unmerited honor upon an otherwise insipid piece. It was staged only once after this, on February 2, 1823.[68]

On January 18, 1821, the first performance of *Die Silberschlange,* a pantomime in two acts by the Master of Ballet Horschelt, was given at the Theater an der Wien.[69] This ballet and pantomime was treated quite in a Gozziesque manner. Its story is somewhat as follows: While the Fairy Alzimonda is hunting, Zoro, the King of Owls, snatches from her hand the magic wand, which is at the same time the emblem and the seat of her power. He exiles her into the depths of the earth and places the silver serpent over her as guardian. Later the wand is stolen from the wicked sorcerer and the fairy once more ascends her throne. The action in the world of the comic masks is just as simple. Arlequin loves Colombine who has been promised to Sir Crash by her father, Pantalone. Their mutual affection is discovered, and Arlequin is evicted from the house. He wanders into the magic forest, where the silver serpent provides him with a magic palette by means of which he is able to perpetrate many a joke upon Pantalone, Pierrot and his rival. Finally the talisman is instrumental in gaining him the consent of Pantalone. Incidentally he meets the King of Owls, tears the magic wand from his grasp and frees Alzimonda. It is quite evident that the bond uniting these two actions is too loose. Moreover, the performance lacked the southern vivacity, the ever-ready merry humor, the quick wit, which plays with itself as well as with the audience. Yet the influence of Gozzi (*La donna serpente*) is very evident. The pantomime was repeated at the same theatre on February 5, 1821.[70]

A few months earlier, Sendler, in Vienna, published a

[68] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* 1823, Nr. 16.

[69] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1821, Nr. 11.

[70] *Ibid.,* I, Nr. 20.

three-act drama entitled *Der Sturz in den Abgrund,*[71] by Franz Karl Graf von Riesch,[72] the lyric poet, who wrote under the pseudonym of Franz Seewald. In spite of strenuous endeavors it has been impossible to locate a copy of this work. Wurzbach, who mentioned it (cf. note 71), errs in thinking it was never staged. A performance of it took place on August 12, 1821, in Reval.[73]

Another successful adaptation was to be made in Vienna, again at the hands of a Viennese actor, Wenzel Tremler,[74] who played and wrote under the nom de plume of Lembert. He bent his energies to bringing forth a new version of *Das öffentliche Geheimnis* (cf. above pp. 37-42). In his preface he states that he had undertaken the adaptation of this play only because Schreyvogel had assured him that he would not have time to carry out his intention of doing so himself, as his activities were far too numerous to permit him the leisure necessary for such work. Tremler-Lembert used both the Italian and the German[75] versions of Calderón's play, as shown on the title-page of the edition published in 1824 by Tendler and von Manstein in Vienna. Gozzi's influence is particularly noticeable in the number and importance of the comic figures of the play.

Although Tremler-Lembert does not approximate the style and language of Schreyvogel, yet his work merits the applause which it earned in Berlin, Hamburg and Leipzig. Nevertheless, certain contemporary critics raised the same objections to it that their predecessors had done four decades earlier. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that Lembert's work

[71] W. Wurzbach, *Das spanische Drama zur Zeit Grillparzers.* Wien, 1898, p. 23.

[72] Born in Vienna, 1792. Died in Neschwitz, Saxony, 1833.

[73] Karl Theodor Hell. Jahrgang 1821.

[74] J. Wenzel Tremler, born in 1780 in Prague, died in 1830 in Vienna. Was engaged in 1817 as member of the Burgtheater, Vienna.

[75] By J. D. Gries.

is a distinct improvement upon that of F. W. Gotter.[76] *Das öffentliche Geheimnis* was first presented in the Burgtheater, Vienna, on December 18, 1820,[77] when it was acclaimed enthusiastically. A year later Berlin,[78] Hamburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Stuttgart and Hannover[79] were staging it. It was maintained on these stages for a number of years, and in 1822 Munich[80] was added to the list. Braunschweig, Frankfort and Weimar,[81] produced it for the first time in 1823, while Cassel enjoyed it in 1824. The last performances listed were those at Reval,[82] where it was played twice in 1828, after which it lapsed into oblivion.

The Leipzig "Taschenbuch," *Minerva,*[83] offered through a series of numbers a "gallery" of copper engravings to illustrate Schiller's dramas. In the year 1820 this collection came to a conclusion with two engravings representing *Turandot.* The pictures are preceded by a panegyric on Carlo Gozzi, in which the opinion is expressed that so exotic a plant as the Commedia dell'Arte could not be expected to take root in the colder German clime. A synopsis of Schiller's play is appended, as well as an interpretation of the pictures which, though interesting from a historical point of view, are utterly devoid of charm to the mind accustomed to modern art.

Not satisfied, evidently, with Schreyvogel-West's *Donna Diana,* an anonymous writer tried his hand at another Ger-

[76] See above, pp. 37-42.

[77] W. v. Wurzbach, *Das spanische Drama am Wiener Hofburgtheater zur Zeit Grillparzers,* p. 122.

[78] T. Hell, *Tagebuch der deutschen Bühnen,* Jahrgang 1821.

[79] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang 1822.

[80] *Ibid., Jahrgang* 1822. August 15, 1822, first performance.

[81] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang 1823.

[82] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1828, Nr. 68.

[83] *Minerva, Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1820.* Leipzig. 12ter Jahrgang.

man version of Gozzi's *Principessa filosofa.*[84] When Gozzi adapted his version from the Spanish, he named the heroine "Teodora," probably in honor of Teodora Ricci, the actress for whom the title rôle was intended. This latest German translator followed in the footsteps of the Venetian, adhering closely to the Italian version, even to the point of keeping the name "Theodora," and calling his play by that title. He has the action take place in Spain, and uses Germanized versions of Gozzi's names, making of Theodora's father a German knight living in Spain. In plot and language he followed Werthes almost literally, merely turning the latter's energetic prose into somewhat stilted verse. He tried to improve upon Secretary Gianetto by having him intersperse his speeches continually with foreign phrases. This becomes tiresome to the audience, however, and the attempt at improvement was entirely unsuccessful. Gianetto's attitude toward his mistress is most disrespectful and jars upon the reader, because he has lost the mask-like character which excused such liberties. For example, he says of Theodora (Act I, Scene I):

> Secreto stell' ich ihr die schönsten Schlingen,
> Mir ist's als hätten wir den Vogel schon.

Taken as a whole, therefore, this play is much weaker than *La principessa filosofa.* It has not gained anything in place of that which it has lost.

The musical play by Pixis *Der Zauberspruch,* the text of which is based on E. T. A. Hoffmann's account of *Der Rabe,*[85] which was performed for the first time on April 25, 1822, in Vienna, will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the romanticist.

Ferdinand Raimund, the greatest popular poet of German Austria, whose works have become the common property of

[84] *Theodora. Schauspiel in drei Abteilungen nach Carlo Gozzi.* Hamm, im Auftrage bei Schultz und Wundermann, 1821.

[85] Cf. below, p. 145.

the German nation, states distinctly in his autobiography[86] that he was entirely unacquainted with Gozzi's works at the time that he wrote his plays. Nevertheless, a nature as sensitive as Raimund's must have been influenced strongly, though perhaps unconsciously, by an author who made himself felt in Germany and Austria so powerfully as Gozzi had done. Their talent was somewhat alike, though their attitude toward life and the theatre differed greatly. It is not surprising, therefore, that the same story of the Arabian Nights, that of the ninth rose statue, should have appealed to them both. Raimund's use of it in the *Diamant des Geisterkönigs* closely resembles the plot as used by Gozzi in *Zeim, re de' genj.* Another motif used by both authors is the adventure of the singing tree, which Raimund incorporated in the play mentioned above, and Gozzi in his *Augellino belverde;* while the successful methods employed by the hero in the German comedy to win the statue and placate the king of the genii are strongly reminiscent of a similar situation in *L'amore delle tre melarance.*

Though it is doubtful whether Raimund ever read or saw *Zeim, re de' genj,* it is certain that he had read *La donna serpente* before he wrote his *Verschwender.* In Gozzi's fiaba is shown the love of King Farruscad for the Fairy Cherestani, who appeared to him as a milk-white doe while he was hunting, and who became his wife only after he had promised never to inquire into her antecedents. He disregards her request and she disappears. During their separation, Farruscad, half crazed by sorrow and remorse, roams around the desert. Suddenly he is overpowered by magic sleep. The desert becomes a garden; in the distance appears Cherestani's palace. Gentle music accompanies this transformation. Far-

[86] Ferdinand Raimund, "Selbstbiographie," *Raimunds Werke,* ed. Glossy und Sauer, III, 524. The genuineness of this biography and the statements made therein are doubted by Rudolf Fürst, *Raimunds Werke,* I, xxxii.

ruscad awakens, hastens to the palace, and is met by Cherestani, who reveals to him her supernatural character. She adjures him to endure whatever may befall and never to doubt or curse her, and they part after a heartbreaking farewell.

Similarly in the *Verschwender,* the spendthrift Flottwell is beloved by a fairy Cheristane. (Cf. similarity of the names: Cherestani, Cheristane.) He loves her and wishes to marry her, but in protecting him she has exhausted her power and is about to leave him until they shall be forever united after his death in the limitless realms of love.

Following the example of so many of his predecessors, the Orchestral Director, Franz Gläser,[87] composed a fairy opera, *Heliodor, Beherrscher der Elemente,* which was based on one of Gozzi's fiabe.[88] Two years prior to its first performance this work had been submitted to the stage director of the Theater in der Josephstadt in Vienna, Carl Franz Hensler. It could not be staged as originally planned, however, because just at the crucial moment Raimund produced his *Diamant des Geisterkönigs,* which is based on the same story as *Heliodor.* Both authors had accidently utilized the same source-plot at the same time. The author of *Heliodor* adhered more closely to the original form of the drama; his work might be compared to a simple, clear outline, to be filled with life and color by means of music, the ballet, elaborate settings, and so forth. The management produced a colorful ensemble which was pleasing to the spectators, but which had a very short-lived success.

A play which appeared at the Königstädter Theater in Vienna on April 20, 1827, bearing the title of *Der Zauberer*

[87] Franz Gläser (1797-1861) made his début in Vienna and later attained a prominent place in the musical circles of Berlin.

[88] *Heliodor, Beherrscher der Elemente, oder: das Bild des Glücks. Romantisch-komische Feenoper in zwey Akten, nach dem Italienischen des Gozzi bearbeitet. Allgemeine Theaterzeitung,* Wien, Nr. 16, February 7, 1826.

und das Ungetüm, seems by its title to be reminiscent of Gozzi, yet it has been impossible to discover any further data concerning it.

In the same year an interesting almanach appeared in Hamburg, bearing the name of *Turandot.*[89] It consisted of a collection of simple riddles, songs, tales, and stories, all of them based on the riddle motif. So popular did the little book prove, that a very much increased circulation was attained by the second volume.[90]

A generally revived interest in Italian literature, caused a German publisher of Leipzig, Ernst Fleischer, to produce the *Teatro classico italiano antico e moderno.*[91] Twenty-four medallions of the authors represented in the collection were engraved by C. A. Schwerdgeburth. Only the greatest Italians, from Boccaccio to Manzoni, were chosen. Of Carlo Gozzi, the three fiabe which had proved to be most popular among the Germans were printed: *La Zobeide, I pitocchi fortunati,* and *Turandot.* This beautiful edition is indeed a credit to its German publisher.

Still the influence of *Turandot* continued, not very pronounced to be sure, but enough to keep the memory of Gozzi alive. Thus in Pressburg, on March 15, 1830, a play was given called *Magische Eilwagen-Reise durch die Comödienwelt,*[92] a tragi-comic spectacle, in the Chinese manner, containing a whole galaxy of Chinese, knights, esquires, and so forth, and having as a special attraction a tableau of three Chinese riddles, à la *Turandot.*

[89] *Turandot, Almanach des Räthselhaften,* von Georg Lotz und Carl Töpfer, Hamburg, bei den Herausgebern und in Commission bei Herold.

[90] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1828, Nr. 108.

[91] *Teatro classico italiano antico e moderno, ovvero: Il parnasso teatrale con illustrazione biografiche, istoriche, e critiche.* Edizione Guista. I testi i piu accreditati. Ornata di venti quattro Ritratti. Lipsia, Presso Ernesto Fleischer, Piazza Nuova, No. 626. 1829.

[92] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* April, 1830, Nr. 11.

Wolfgang Wurzbach[93] quotes a work by Ferdinand V. Ernst, *Der Gärtner und die Schlange oder das Zauberkäppchen,* produced in the Theater an der Wien, 1831, as based on a motif by Gozzi. He does not define what is meant and I have not been able to find the work.

An excellent translation into German of the second scene of the first act of *La donna serpente* was included in 1834 in Doctor F. W. Genthe's book on Italian literature.[94] It is to be regretted that the anonymous translator did not continue with his very good work.

The influence which E. T. A. Hoffmann, who admired Gozzi greatly, exercised upon young Richard Wagner is well known. So profoundly was the latter impressed by the beauty of the fiabe, to which Hoffmann's works and his uncle, A. Wagner, had drawn his attention,[95] that he used as text for his first opera in romantic style his own adaptation of *La donna serpente* (1833). Wagner was attracted not only by the operatic quality of the Gozzi drama, but by the subject matter itself. In the *Mitteilung an meine Freunde,*[96] he explains the change which he wrought in the plot. In the Italian version the lover-husband, after many trials, wins a fairy as his mortal wife. To his motif the young German gave a more spiritual quality by transferring the lover to the immortal realms of the empire of the fairies, a change which, even twenty years later, still appeared to him of great importance as foreshadowing the "Erlösungsmotif." This youthful work by Wagner and its relation to Gozzi has

[93] Wolfgang Wurzbach, *Der Rabe, Grillparzers Werke,* II, 4, p. 485.

[94] *Handbuch der Geschichte der abendländischen Litteraturen und Sprachen.* hrsg. v. Dr. Fr. W. Genthe, Bd. I, Abth. II. Italiänische Litteratur: Poesie. Magdeburg, 1834.

[95] Cf. Willy Krienitz, *Richard Wagners Feen,* München, 1910, p. 23.

[96] Richard Wagner, *Mitteilung an meine Freunde.* Leipzig, p. 39 f. 1852.

been very thoroughly analyzed in a monograph, *Die Feen,* by Willy Krienitz.[97]

To the present writer, the beginning of *Der fliegende Holländer* has always borne a strong resemblance to the first scene of Gozzi's *Il corvo,* as though, consciously or unconsciously, the memory of the Italian fiaba had found expression in the setting and in the opening of the German opera: the storm, the repeated attempts to land on the home shore, the crew shouting in chorus; the final triumph of the human beings over the elements.

Meanwhile another composer of less fame than Richard Wagner was sufficiently attracted by the immortal *Turandot* to compose a new score for it. This was Carl Gottlieb Reissiger.[98] The text used had no dramatic possibilities whatsoever and possessed no quality to arouse the musician, so that the score has many mediocre, in addition to a few successful, numbers.[99] It seems to have left no impression on the musical circles of Germany.

Vienna was to see the next adaptation of Gozzi, this time a play in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, which had already witnessed the reproduction of so many fiabe in various forms. Julius von Ribics,[100] the Hungarian playwright, in order to provide a rôle for his wife, the actress Auguste Schreiber, produced *Der Rabe oder die bösen Gaben* adapted from Gozzi's *Corvo.* It was not sufficiently successful to enjoy a long run however.

[97] Cf. footnote 95, p. 100.

[98] The manuscript, according to Reissiger's biographer, Kurt Kreiser, is in the archives of the Hofoper, Dresden; and is dated 1834. A copy of the Mss., signed C. G. Reisinger, was seen by the writer in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

[99] Kurt Kreiser, *Carl Gottlieb Reissiger,* Dresden, 1918.

[100] Julius von Ribics, born in Hungary, 1806, died in Vienna, 1884. Listed erroneously in Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon,* as adapter of *Goldoni's* play, *Die beiden Raben,* which evidently refers to the play under discussion.

Wolfgang v. Wurzbach[101] draws attention to J. Falck's romantic opera in two acts, *Die Zauberfee,* which, he states, was produced in Weimar in 1826, "a free adaptation from Carlo Gozzi with music by J. S. Remde." As he does not adduce any source for his statement, it has not been possible to verify it.

A third edition of Gozzi in Italian, this time of a single play only, *I pitocchi fortunati,* was to appear simultaneously in Germany and Italy, printed in Berlin by Mt. Schlesinger, in Venice by Giuseppe Orlandetto, under date of 1838. What caused this sudden printing of an isolated fiaba could not be ascertained.

Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, who wrote under the nom de plume of J. Hoven, tried to adapt Schiller's *Turandot*[102] to meet the needs of the Viennese operatic stage of 1838. He simplified the action by substituting for the four masks one comic figure, that of Patetu, the great seneshal; Emperor Altoum of China he changed into Orosman, King of Persia. He made the plot somewhat less elaborate: Barak is overseer of slaves and is urging them to work; when left alone, he grieves for his home. Accidentally he meets Calaf, the exiled Prince of Astrachan. Their mutual surprise may well be imagined. After relating their adventures to each other, the Prince reveals his love for Turandot, of whom he had a glimpse in the garden. Püttlingen-Hoven omits the romantic scene of Calaf's falling in love with the picture. The Prince is determined to gain the heroine by attempting to solve the riddles. Barak, greatly perturbed at this resolution, tries to

[101] W. v. Wurzbach, *"Der Rabe," Grillparzers Werke,* II, 4, p. 485. The only J. Falck to be found was Legationsrath of Weimar (1768-1825), founder of the Falckische Institut. It could scarcely be that an opera by him was produced ten years after his death.

[102] *Turandot, Prinzessin von Schiras. Grosse Oper in Zwei Akten.* Text nach Schiller. Musik von J. Hoven. An interpaged prompter's copy with full staging directions is in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

dissuade him, but he is unsuccessful. Adelma enters, and falls in love with Calaf at first sight. This is another radical change from the Gozzi-Schiller versions. Calaf is summoned before the Divan. The rest of the act follows Schiller closely. The second act also, while omitting many of the subordinate incidents, is based strictly on Schiller; at times the latter's lines are quoted verbatim. The simplification of action has been handled in a masterly fashion, so that at times it seems an improvement upon the original. The new lines, adapted from Schiller, have been translated into Italian, so that the text is in both languages; the music, too, is decidedly of the Italian operatic style, which suits the subject, so that this is altogether a successful treatment.

Karl Blum, the facile Berlin composer and, dramatist adapted at least two of Gozzi's works for the German stage. The first was *Das Zauberräthsel,* an opera, the plot of which was also based on *Turandot.* The music for it was by the fertile Adolf Müller, best known for his compositions of Nestroy's plays.[103] *Das öffentliche Geheimnis,* which had already found so many translators into German,[104] was the second. Blum does not improve upon the work of his predecessors, for instance when he reduces Truffaldino to a very common, rascally servant. This version, a play, deserves the oblivion to which it has been relegated.

During this period Andrea Maffeio translated many of the German classics into Italian. Among his translations from Schiller was *Turandot,* an interesting instance of the return of a translation to its mother tongue.[105]

[103] This is the same Müller who wrote the score to Valentin Ernst's *Gärtner und Schlange,* mentioned above.

[104] Karl Blum (1786-1844), *Theater,* I, Berlin, 1839. Reprinted and bound separately in Berlin, 1841.

[105] A copy is in the Collectio Her, Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Maffeio's work is discussed by Albert Köster in *Schiller als Dramaturg.*

CHAPTER V

THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

A gap of twenty years ensued during which the influence of Gozzi seems to have become extinct in Germany. In 1863, however, there appeared in Silesia a travesty on *Turandot* entitled *Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo.*[1] The quotation from the dramatis personæ will give sufficient insight into the type of play this parody represents, to make further comment unnecessary:

> The King of Nowhere, who, if he were not the father of a daughter without his own fault, would not have appeared in this play at all.
>
> Princess Pebbleheart, an obstinate, masterless creature, utterly spoiled by a weak father, who is too much impressed by her own mentality, and who is, on the whole, quite commonplace.
>
> Prince Schundi, a prince's son without land, his wits sharpened by hunger and despair, who risks his young life in order to gain a free living.

Only the riddle scene is given. It is silly, without being either funny or clever. The authors' signature, "Dreien," seems to refer to three (drei) people who combined their wits to produce this absurdity.

Riemann's *Opernhandbuch*[2] registers a comic opera, *Die Bettler von Samarkand* by J. Brüll, as having had its première in Vienna in 1864. No further details concerning it could be found.

On November 29, 1866, there was given in Vienna an amusing little operetta entitled *Turandot,* text by Erik Nessl, music by K. F. Konradin. This had no connection with Gozzi, however. Its plot is laid in modern times in a Ger-

[1] *Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo.* Ein tragikomisches Mährchen frech bearbeitet nach Gozzi und Schillers *Turandot* in einem Akte von Dreien. Hoyerswerda, 1863.

[2] Riemann's *Opernhandbuch,* p. 48.

man seaport; its heroine is Kätchen Blum, the widow of a master-baker. The only reference to *Turandot,* and the motivation for this name, is found in the lines[3] "Mistress! You are known everywhere as a second Turandot; she was the widow of a master-baker in the interior of China; take care lest the same fate befall you." The wholesome, merry atmosphere of this play made it a great favorite on the Viennese stage.

The imitation of Gozzi's brilliant fancies had long since disappeared from the German stage when another worthy exponent arose on German soil to rekindle interest in the airy characters of the clever Venetian. Paul Heyse, attracted by the charm of the Italian original, rendered into German *I pitocchi fortunati.*[4] He appreciated fully the difficulty of finding a form worthy of his own genius and also of the Italian original. He wrote therefore an appreciative preface, in which he set forth his solution of the problem. He says that the Italian poet could rely upon the popularity of the masks, upon the charm of their dialects, and upon the improvisation of the brilliant humorists who were members of the Sacchi troupe. As a substitute for all this the German adapter had to work out a more closely knit action and a more independent set of characters. Another difficulty arose from the fact that some of the masks were principals in this particular drama, so that they could not be easily dismissed. He would attempt, therefore, to fulfill the conditions by deepening the psychology of the characters, regardless as to whether they were masks or serious characters. Such was the plan Heyse sought to carry out. Of the two villains, the Vezier Muzaffer and the usurer Tartaglia, he made caricatures. Of the four beggars, Saed, a noble youth who had

[3] Act I, Sc. III, p. 4. This play was not printed until 1871. Vienna.

[4] Paul Heyse, *Die glücklichen Bettler. Morgenländisches Märchen in drei Aufzügen frei nach Carlo Gozzi für die Buhne bearbeitet,* Berlin, 1867.

been deprived of his beloved, the former Vezier Pantalone, the professional mendicant Truffaldino, and the dyer Brighella, he made four ordinary beggars, with somewhat the same characters they had originally, but changed to meet the requirements of the play. In order not to lose, but rather to enhance, the fantastic impression of the whole, he has intimately woven into it the musical element. Köster, who discusses the play in his book on Schiller, does not think that Heyse did justice to the masks; he considers his humor too tame and polished. The fact remains, however, that he thoroughly modernized the fiaba, and made of it a play which will always afford enjoyment to the spectator or reader.

Some years later Wolf, Graf Baudissin,[5] then of very advanced age, became very much interested in the Italian drama and was particularly attracted by Gozzi. Baudissin, who had done such notable work on the Tieck-Schlegel Shakespeare, entertained, he tells us, the idea of translating all the dramatic works of the Venetian, but was dissuaded from this enterprise by Salomon Hirzel, the publisher, to whom he had turned for advice. The latter considered Gozzi as obsolete, and the task of publishing his plays profitless. He counselled Baudissin, however, to translate a number of Italian dramas by various authors, including one or two by Gozzi, and to collect them under the comprehensive title of *Italienisches Theater.* This advice was followed. Uncertain as to what two plays to choose, Baudissin discussed his difficulty with Emanuel Geibel, who advised him to take *Il corvo* and *Il re cervo,* because they seemed to him more particularly Gozziesque than either *Turandot* or *I pitocchi fortunati,* chosen respectively by Schiller and Heyse. He considered the fantastical element in both of these works of such bold yet lofty conception, of such charming yet vivid execution, that one could pardon the lack of a profound, moral idea in the magic

[5] Wolf, Graf Baudissin, *Italienisches Theater.* Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1877.

powers which control the destinies of the people involved. Geibel thought the principal reason why the complete dramas of Gozzi had not found a worthy translation into German was the innumerable difficulties which arise for their stage production. Count Baudissin followed the advice and chose the two fiabe suggested by Geibel. As he never at any time contemplated having them staged, he made no changes in them, believing that the masks under their own names would be more acceptable and would create a greater impression than if they were turned into ordinary stage figures. He realized that the necessity of surrendering the dialect in the translation caused it to lose a great deal of the charm of the original, but thought the loss would be greater still if the local color peculiar to the masks were deleted. He regretted the fact that, at the time he wrote, Gozzi was so sadly forgotten among his own countrymen that, when Baudissin was in Italy he was unable to procure a copy of the Venetian's works in Genoa, Venice or Florence, even at second-hand bookshops.

Baudissin's work is just what it claims to be: a good, faithful translation, rendering verse for verse, and prose for prose, only unable to cope with the dialect. Yet, somehow, like many other adaptations, it lacks that magnetism which Gozzi managed to infuse into his work and which none after him has been able to reproduce.

Again a period elapsed before another German felt the urge to render Gozzi themes into German. In 1886, Carl Wittkowsky published *Donna Diana,*[6] which had been transformed into a charming opera, ostensibly after Moreto. An examination of the text, however, reveals that the librettist used West-Schreyvogel's play, rather than Moreto directly. To the changes in motivation introduced by the Austrian,

[6] *Donna Diana, Oper in drei Akten.* Text frei nach Moreto von Carl Wittkowsky. Musik von Heinrich Hofmann. Leipzig. Breitkopf und Härtel (*c.* 1886).

Wittkowsky loyally adhered. His poetic form is excellent, superior to any earlier version. The individual song numbers are particularly deserving of praise.

Nor was Wittkowsky's rendition the last to entertain the German public in the nineteenth century. About 1894, Emil Nicolaus Reznicek[7] greatly shortened the original plot of Schreyvogel-West's *Donna Diana* by reducing the parts of the two secondary princes and of Donna Diana's father to very subordinate positions. Perin has also lost a great deal of importance. He has become the real fool, a foil for Floretta, the typical Smeraldina-soubrette. The whole opera is real poetry and makes a thoroughly pleasant impression when read.[8]

Volkmar Müller translated several of Gozzi's plays into German and was able to infuse a fine poetic spirit into his versions. In 1887 he wrote *Das grüne Vögelchen,* two years later he published, under the title of *Dramatische Dichtungen,* a series of three adaptations: *Der König der Geister, Liebe macht klug,* and *Das blaue Ungeheuer;* and separately, *Die Frau als Schlange.* They show a rare understanding of the Italian, yet at the same time infuse a very pleasing modern spirit.[9]

While Müller was publishing his plays in Dresden, Theobald Rehbaum, attracted again by the invincible magnetism of the ever-young *Turandot,* composed both text and music for his opera. He has, however, been very free in his adaptation and transformed it into something dangerously re-

[7] *Donna Diana,* Komische Oper von E. N. Reznicek. Frei nach der C. A. Westschen Übersetzung des gleichnamigen Lustspiels von Moreto. Leipzig (*c.* 1894). This went through at least three editions.

[8] Unfortunately I have not been able to hear it on the operatic stage.

[9] One of the two copies of *Das grüne Vögelchen* now in possession of the Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna, belonged originally to Paul Heyse, which is but another proof of the interest of the latter in our poet.

sembling a modern musical comedy. His use of the plot, while trivial, is of interest. A chorus of servants headed by Bima, the major-domo of the palace of Narada, Prince of Kashmir, grieve on account of the loss of Jocko, the favorite parrot of his daughter, Princess Turandot. They are joined in their lament by Barak and Skirina, the head gardener and his wife. Kalaf enters, carefree, happy, poor, having lost all his possessions, but retaining his good humor and his love of life. The recognition scene ensues. Kalaf has been fortunate enough to catch the missing Jocko and to return the bird to Turandot, at the same time refusing all reward for his deed. As in the original version, Kalaf falls in love at first sight, but, unlike the Italian, Turandot returns his affections almost immediately and grants him the rose she is wearing. Meanwhile the audience is being informed by the chorus that a tiger, which has been ravaging the country, has been slain by an unknown stranger, who has disappeared. It transpires that Kalaf, of course, is the hero of this brave deed. He states that he is of royal descent and wishes to submit to the test of the three riddles, a resolve which astounds the entire court. He tries and is successful. Turandot, delighted, acquiesces in the marriage, but Kalaf, wishing to test her wit and teach her a lesson for her cruelty to his many predecessors, refuses to accept her until she has found out his name. Turandot tries in vain. She succeeds only in discovering the title by which he was formerly known to Barak, but she has found something "greater than wit and more dazzling than intellect—a loving heart." Kalaf, happy that her better nature has come to the fore, reveals his real title and all are happy.

Though all seriousness has been removed from this version, and no tragic motif is retained, the impression of the whole is very pleasing, and incidentally shows what use can still be made of Gozzi's fiabe.

Turandot versions continued to appear from time to time,

to testify to the inexhaustible charm of the theme. Thus Adolf Jensen, the composer, wrote the music for a Turandot opera, for which after his death his daughter, Elsbeth Jensen, wrote the libretto, basing it on Schiller's text. In 1888, it was published by W. Kienzl.[10] As far as possible, all minor characters have been omitted, including Skirina, Pantalone, and Truffaldino, so that practically all humor has been left out. The action advances almost too rapidly for the spectator, yet it is by no means the worst of the many adaptations of Turandot.[11]

In 1905, Carlo Gozzi's personal life attracted the interest of W. Kastner,[12] who drew inspiration from the *Memorie inutili* to reproduce the stories of the three love affairs of the Venetian. He also added Gozzi's description of himself, the "Proëmio" of the *Memoirs* and, in his introduction, adds a short sketch of the Venetian's life and works, omitting however in his list of fiabe *La donna serpente* and *Il mostro turchino*. The translation reads smoothly enough, though its literary form is not of the best.

Turandot, who had dragged her weary existence through so many decades, attracting many and baffling all, beautiful, alluring, enchanting, yet never endowed with that wealth of scenic splendor which is her birthright, was at last to come into her own, when Karl Vollmoeller, reverting to Gozzi directly, produced another adaptation. This surpasses even Schiller in many ways. Vollmoeller successfully cast off all restraint and made it as merry a play in German as Gozzi had done in Italian. He introduced his foster child by devoting to it and to Gozzi an entire number of the *Blätter des deutschen Theaters,* explaining therein in detail the rise and fall

[10] *Turandot.* Operndichtung von Adolf Jensen. Hrsg. von W. Kienzl (1888).

[11] The interest taken in the Italian version of *Turandot* caused Georg Büchner to publish a school text, annotated, München, 1911.

[12] *Venezianische Liebesabenteuer. Erlebt und erzählt von Carlo Gozzi.* Deutsch von W. Kastner, Leipzig, Zeiller, 1905.

of the Commedia dell'Arte and Gozzi's share in its resuscitation, and giving a complete exposition of the characteristics of Turandot. Ferruccio Busoni, the noted Italian composer, contributed an article to this Gozzi number of the theatrical magazine. He had written an Oriental suite based on the comedy, which Johann Wijsman later harmonized with the Vollmoeller play for a joint production. Another contributor to the production was Ernst Stern, the artistic designer of scenery and costume. For Turandot was to enjoy a renaissance on the stage which was to surpass anything that even Gozzi might have fondly dreamed for her; she was to be reborn in the twentieth century as a rococo figure of daintiness incarnate; Max Reinhardt was to wave his magic wand over her, and a new Turandot was to arise in undreamed-of splendor. The play was produced on October 27, 1911, in the *Deutsches Theater,* Berlin. Siegfried Jacobsohn, the eminent dramatic critic,[13] describes the effect of this stupendous spectacle.

He [Reinhardt] built up a fabled land with the help of Ernst Stern, who cannot be sufficiently praised; who was never more brilliant, never more fantastical, never more colorful, never more magnificent, than in this, and yet who is always graceful, always light. The eye cannot feast enough. A merry throng of the most variegated vivacity. Lacquer, porcelain, and bamboos, Chinese lanterns, curtains, lattice work. Dainty little thrones, minarets, tiny flags. A nodding, tripping, swaying, balancing. Enameled faces, doll-like feet, fans and coiffures. Contrasted with Chinese master-beings are Japanese slaves with more yellow faces and queueless heads. The horrors are subdued in scurrilous fashion, manslaughtering clubs are childish playthings. They behead from sheer fun. We are not frightened by Samarkand's papier-mâché head, raised in most unbloody fashion upon Pekin's bridge. All this is nothing but intoxication of color. Orgies in multiple greens, in lilacs, rose, gold, in cobalt blue, orange yellow, and iris white. Fabulous beings, dragons, cranes, and mystic fowl

[13] Siegfried Jacobsohn, *Das Jahr der Bühne,* Berlin, 1912, p. 65.

of every variety, lilies, gloxinia, and exotic blooms of foreign realms twine ambitiously and artistically, morosely or merrily, through black, dull-red or violet hangings, one of which rises after the other, while courtiers, princes with paper lanterns, swords, parasols, in litters and baldaquins are drawn or spirited past.[14]

Exotic, phantasmagoric effects, with ever-changing background, which finally become almost too much for the human spectator to absorb, and leave him sated, dizzy, gasping—a recrudescence of sheer loveliness and beauty, at last a setting worthy of the sardonic nobleman whose bones have been moldering by the blue lagoons for over a hundred years.[15]

Karl Vollmoeller's version was translated into English by Jethro Bithell,[16] whose work does not do justice to the en-

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

[15] Karl Vollmoeller, Prefatory note to *Turandot.*

[16] *Turandot, Princess of China,* by Karl Vollmoeller. Authorized English version by Jethro Bithell, London, New York, 1913.

The following foreign versions have appeared in addition to the German versions. Denmark took an active interest in the Italian author. Already in 1815, M. F. Liebenberg, the father of the famous literary historian, Frederik Ludvig Liebenberg, translated Schiller's *Turandot* into Danish verse.

This was followed by S. Meisling's translation, the *Italienske Maskencomœdia af Carlo Gozzi.* Kjøbenhavn, 1825. Unfortunately this work has not been accessible.

This work was supplemented by Hans Christian Andersen's opera, *Ravnen, Eventyr-Opera i fire Acter,* the music to which was written by the great J. P. E. Hartmann. It has a supernatural atmosphere of gnomes, elves, and elementary spirits, which are strongly reminiscent of Kuhlau's famous opera *Elverhoe* (Copenhagen, 1828). Andersen has put into this work the peculiar charm which permeates his writings. It was produced for the first time in Copenhagen on October 29, 1832. Later it was changed somewhat and staged again on April 23, 1865.

Turandot was put into the form of an opera by Andersen's fellow countryman, Severin, Baron Løvenskjold (Copenhagen, 1854), but won only slight success.

A single Hungarian edition of *Turandot,* by Gathky Janos, ap-

trancing charm of the German version. As a spectacle, it was a decided success in London, however. Let us hope that the German translator and the stage-director who so bril-

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peared in Buda, 1835. It was not sufficiently well done to stimulate further attention to Gozzi.

In England there was some slight Gozzi interest here and there during the last century. When Thomas Roscoe translated the works of Italian novelists, he included some of Gozzi's work in his *The Italian Novelists* (Vol. IV, 1825). *Calaf, a Rejected Drama,* appeared in London in 1826. West's *Donna Diana* found a translator in George Hyde, who rendered it as *Pride's Victory, or The School of Pride,* London, 1825. Ten years later *Turandot* was once more translated, this time directly from the German of Schiller, by Archer Gurney, and was published as *Turandot, Princess of China. From the German by Schiller; with considerable alterations and the introduction of new characters; with a view of its adaptation to the English stage.* Frankfort on the Main. 1836. Gurney made some changes, mainly the following: he introduced in Act I, rather unnecessarily, five maidens mourning for the Prince of Samarcand; Skirina has become a lady of dignity and Zelima is no longer her daughter, but her sister. The chief change, however, is the attempted justification of Turandot's conduct. She acts under the compulsion of a previous ill-considered oath, from the effects of which she is saved in the nick of time by Dinar, her tutor, a newly added figure, who inserted a clause which rendered the oath null and void, and was unable to apprise Turandot of this because he was enslaved by pirates for four years. Albert Köster, in *Schiller als Dramaturg* (p. 208), in his criticism of this play, called the attempt at an improvement "childish," which expresses it exactly, though the Englishman does hit upon two of the weak points of the original.

It remains to draw attention to Paul de Musset's *Mémoires de Carlo Gozzi,* Paris, 1884. The French poet's very free translation, which may almost be deemed an adaptation, somewhat strained the characters of the *Memoirs* in his romantic attitude toward the Venetian.

Prokofieff, in 1913, utilized *L'amore delle tre melarance* very successfully as the subject for an opera. It has been staged repeatedly in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

It may have been Busoni's Oriental Suite based on *Turandot* which induced the great Giacomo Puccini to take this fascinating Chinese Princess as the subject for his last opera. It was first per-

liantly produced *Turandot,* may in the near future bring the same good fortune to some others of the fiabe.

When the field of Gozzi influence on German literature

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formed under Toscanini at La Scala in Milan, Italy, on April 25, 1926. (Cf. *The New York Times,* November 17, 1926.) The libretto is by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni, who reduced the story to the fewest possible incidents consistent with the development of the opera. Princess Turandot, the Emperor Altoum, Timur, and Calaf are the characters adopted from Schiller, after Gozzi; the masks are changed into three Chinese Ministers, Ping, Pang, and Pong, and a new character, Liú, a slave girl, is added. In a first act the populace protests against the death of the Persian Prince, while the executioners grimly grind their swords, preparatory to this dreadful deed. Calaf and his father, Timur, accompanied by Liú, the faithful slave, find each other in the crowd. Turandot appears for a moment defiantly, facing the mob. At first sight of her, Calaf falls in love and, rushing forward, strikes the gong which announces him as the next suitor. In the first scene of the second act, the three Ministers cry out upon Turandot and hope for an early wedding of Turandot and peace for their harassed country. The riddle scene, in which the Unknown Prince is successful, comes next. The plot follows Gozzi closely to the end of the act: Turandot's consternation, and her refusal to marry Calaf cause him to propound a new riddle. Turandot must find out his name and lineage, in which case his head will be forfeited, or she must marry him. In the third act Turandot is seen threatening all surrounding her with death if the Prince's name be not revealed. When Timur and Liú appear, Turandot herself menaces them with torture if they do not tell the secret. Rather than betray her beloved Prince, Liú stabs herself. Such devotion and sacrifice soften the stony heart of Turandot, who yields to Calaf voluntarily. The last scene is one of rejoicing before the throne of Emperor Altoum.

Puccini was able to write all but the finale of the score before death claimed him in November, 1924. The ending has been somewhat inadequately supplied by Franco Alfano, who orchestrated the final passage which the composer had left in fragmentary form. Puccini had studied Chinese music and rhythm for his score, the result of which is brilliantly effective.

This opera was staged for the first time in North America at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on November 16, 1926. It created an almost unprecedented furore, before an enthusiastic

in the nineteenth century is briefly surveyed, the following points claim attention: Friedrich Schiller's adaptation of *Turandot* was followed at first by a lull in further production, due, in all probability, to the respect engendered among contemporaries by the work of a very great artist. This interval was only temporary, however, and was followed by a very fertile period during which some of the fiabe made their appeal as opera librettos with varying success, while others were treated as the regular fairy-dramas. In practically every case, however, the masks, while their innate charm was felt and appreciated, were considered an obstacle to German actors. Attempts were made, therefore, to eliminate them by substituting familiar figures. This method proved only partly successful. At the same time a host of musical adaptations, particularly of *Turandot,* flooded the operatic stage, a current which has survived into the twentieth century.

Not only Friedrich Schiller, but others of the greatest literary geniuses of the century felt the fascination of the fiabe and succumbed to the temptation to adopt them. Among these are Franz Grillparzer, who, however, did not finish

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audience which crowded the house to capacity, due in part, doubtless, to the peerless acting and singing of the Viennese star, Maria Jeritza, who took the leading part, ably assisted by Max Altglass as Altoum and Giacomo Lauri-Volpi as Calaf. With all the scenic splendor and magnificent costuming for which the Metropolitan Opera House is justly renowned, a wonderful production was achieved, differing radically from the Vollmoeller-Reinhardt production, yet quite as stupendous in its way, and giving promise of a splendid renaissance for Gozzi's fiabe, not only in Europe, but in America as well!

The caption of the program read as follows: "*Turandot,* lyric drama in three acts and five scenes. Book in Italian by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni from the German poetic drama of Schiller, based on Gozzi's older Italian version of the Chinese legend. Music by the late Giacomo Puccini, with his sketches for a last duet and finale completed by Franco Alfano. First performance in the United States, at the Metropolitan Opera House."

his translation of *Il corvo;* Schreyvogel-West, who staged a most successful adaptation of *La principessa filosofa* as *Donna Diana;* Ferdinand Raimund, the plots of several of whose plays bear a strong resemblance to the Venetian fiabe; young Richard Wagner, who chose the plot of *La donna serpente* as the basis for the text and music of *Die Feen,* the first of his operas to reveal the motif of redemption, which became so vital a factor of his later operas. There follow, then, Paul Heyse, whose classical, plastic poetry immortalized *I pitocchi fortunati;* and Karl Vollmoeller, one of our own contemporaries, who, once more attracted by *Turandot,* aided and abetted by the inimitable Max Reinhardt and Ernst Stern, produced an extravaganza, the spectacular performance of which was of such striking beauty, brilliance, and magnificence that it must have surpassed even Gozzi's fondest dreams.

In addition to these, the Italian playwright made a special appeal to certain of the German Romanticists, particularly to Ludwig Tieck, Clemens Brentano, and E. T. A. Hoffmann, whose interest in the fiabe will be considered in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VI

GOZZI AND LUDWIG TIECK

Many authorities have recognized the fact that Gozzi's use of the fairy drama for satire inspired Ludwig Tieck to write satirical plays.[1] The influence of the Venetian dramatist, or at least the cultivation of ideas and methods similar to his, can be shown for a much wider range of Tieck's work than is usually acknowledged. Particularly for the period of the *Volksmärchen für die Deutschen,* 1796-1798, was Gozzi of importance for the young author who was just breaking the shackles of the Aufklärung. Not only the general plan of the dramatized Märchen, but fantastic images and curious character types, as well as fully developed incidents, recall throughout the inventions of Gozzi.

When Tieck first made the acquaintance of the Italian master is uncertain, but it must have been early in his university years at the latest, since an essay, "Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren," written in Göttingen in 1793 and offered in vain to Schiller's *Thalia,* shows already considerable knowledge of Gozzi's work.[2] An industrious *Motivenjäger* might indeed find a suggestion of a familiarity with the fiabe in a story belonging in its genesis to the gymnasium years. In *Abdallah*[3] (1792), a gruesome tale written while the young author was still under the influence of the "Schauerromane," Nadir and Omar, genii of good and evil, with power to read the future and to change form at will, suggest Gozzi's genii and monsters. The evil lessons which

[1] Cf. Köster, *op. cit.,* pp. 222-25. Here, as elsewhere, Köster's discussion is brief, but remarkably informing and suggestive.

[2] Published in 1796; cf. Goedecke, *Grundriss,* VI, 34. Reprinted in Tieck's *Werke,* hrsg. v. Eduard Berend (Berlin: Bong), VI, 66 ff.; cf. also VI, 17, and this chapter, p. 134.

[3] Published in 1795; Tieck's *Schriften,* VIII, 1 ff.; cf. Haym, *Romantische Schule,* 2. Aufl., p. 35 ff.

Omar teaches his young pupil savor strongly of the ideas which led astray the twins in *L'augellino belverde.*

Such similarities are too frail a thread on which to hang an assumption that the young student had already found in the Venetian dramatist a fully congenial spirit. The evidence strengthens, however, three years later with the appearance of *Peter Lebrecht* (1795). This worthy's account of his "restless days" in the "Beitrag zu den Kalenderprophezeiungen"[4] recalls memories of the "contrattempi" so charmingly described by Gozzi in his *Memorie inutili.*[5] After describing the peculiar days of ill luck, which he calls "unruhige Tage," with their series of misfortunes, Peter relates the various pieces of bad luck which once befell him on a journey on such a day. He is overtaken by a rainstorm, becomes involved in a tavern quarrel, is denounced as a maker of counterfeit money, seized as a horsethief and finally thrown by his horse in front of his own door.[6] We recall that Gozzi, too, found himself the victim of unlucky stars which plague him with annoyance and expose him to ridicule and danger. "Very often I was taken by innumerable people for someone else with an obstinate insistency, and the strangest thing about it was that I did not in the least resemble the people for whom I was mistaken." Overtaken by the rain in the street, he would wait for hours under a portico for it to cease. When he had finally made up his mind to leave the shelter and arrived home drenched to the skin, the sun would burst gloriously forth immediately after he had entered the house.[7] Another "contrattempo" described in the *Memorie inutili*[8] has an atmosphere not unlike that of the "unruhiger Tag" of Peter Lebrecht. After

[4] *Peter Lebrecht,* II, Chap. V; *Schriften,* XV, 30: cf. also Chap. XIX of the same work.

[5] Pt. I, Chap. XLVII.

[6] Tieck, *Schriften,* XV, 32 ff.

[7] *Memorie inutili,* Chap. XLVII.

[8] *Ibid.*

a protracted absence, Carlo returns home one day, happy at the thought of resting after his wearisome journey, but finds his home in uproar and is refused admission and is informed politely that in a letter he had turned over the house to a neighbor for a few days as his contribution toward an entertainment the latter was giving. Gozzi, who has no recollection of the matter whatever, is forced by the turmoil to flee for refuge to a hotel.

It is, however, in the *Volksmärchen* of 1796 and the following years, that Tieck's acquaintance with the Venetian dramatist makes itself plainly apparent. Thirty years later (1828), when he reviewed these stories for incorporation in his collected works, he dwells on the first of them, *Blaubart,* as a combination of the "humoristische und bizarre" in dramatic form, and says, "Without wishing to imitate Gozzi, pure pleasure in his fiabe caused me to adapt in a different manner and in German fashion a fantastic fairy tale for the German stage."[9] A detailed examination of this group of dramatized fairy tales shows the accuracy of Tieck's dignified statement of his relationship to the work of the Venetian author.

For the particular Märchen here referred to, *Blaubart,* the author but repeats a disclaimer of "imitating" Gozzi made many years before, but states that the idea of dramatizing an old fairy tale was suggested by the Italian. In the introduction, which forms a part of the dialogue framework which binds together the stories in *Phantasus* (1812), we read:

> Clara began: "Gozzi has worked over some subjects, fairy stories, which are charming and very effective. Why has this poet never been imitated? Or has he been?" "At the time," said Lothar, "when I read Gozzi most eagerly, I also made the attempt to dramatize a children's story, which if I am not mistaken is, however, not to be called an imitation of his manner."[10]

[9] Tieck, *Schriften,* I, VII ff.

[10] *Phantasus,* 2. Teil, *Schriften,* V, 6.

Then follows the *Blaubart.*

In clothing this old story in a garment of satire, Tieck undoubtedly had the practice of the Venetian master before him. The satirical fabric is, however, too thin, and its spirit too faint to veil the gruesome realism of the folk-tale, which in its simplicity and directness develops an intensity of interest quite lacking to Tieck's other dramatic attempts. The alternation of deeply tragic scenes with the amusing conversations of Claus the Fool and his foil, the Councillor, in particular the Jacques-like philosophy of the former, are reminiscent of the Shakespeare studies which young Tieck was pushing so vigorously at that time. The *Blaubart* has, to be sure, something of the fairylike unreality of landscape and incident that belong to Gozzi's airy fiabe, and some of the young German's devices to enhance the tragic effects recall those which stood so readily at the command of his Italian predecessor. The peculiar, uncanny color of Peter Bauer's beard, the deserted, weird approach through barren lands to his castle, the witch-like hag who acted as his housekeeper, the blending of spectacular and emotional elements, all recall the Märchen effects of the author of *Il re cervo* and *Turandot* at his best. But the pathos and the melodramatic realism with which the German author paints the lurid background to Agnes' life at Bluebeard's home, or leads us to the climax when she relates to her sister her dreadful experience in the chamber of horrors, owe their color to the somber fancies of the authors of those *Schauerromane* on which Tieck had fed in youth.[11]

On the drama *Blaubart,* which Tieck many years after-

[11] Haym, *op. cit.,* p. 92 ff., points out the independent attitude of Tieck toward Gozzi, as compared with Schiller's. "Er [Tieck] bearbeitete nicht Gozzi, er folgte nur seinem Vorgang." Köster (*op. cit.,* p. 223) finds that the alternation of serious and cheerful scenes in *Blaubart* and the *Gestiefelte Kater* point to Gozzi. Shakespear's influence seems here, however, unmistakable.

wards called "die erste Frucht jener trunken poetischen Stimmung,"[12] followed a year later a prose tale entitled "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart." In the review of this literary development, written in 1828 as an introduction to one of the volumes of his collected works, he has described this story as a sort of declaration of independence of the "moral tendency" in the literature of the later Aufklärung, as "ein Tummelplatz für Schalkheit, Spass, seltsame Begebenheiten, ja Kritik in dieser bizarren Form und Selbstparodie des Dargestellten."[13] The story, which traces the life history of Peter Berner and mocks at the sentimental literature of his day, soaked with crocodile tears, contains some episodes which are apparently borrowed from Gozzi. The most important is the introduction of a head, made of lead, which was given to the hero by his fairy godmother, and gave excellent advice when properly questioned. This head Bluebeard always consulted when about to contract a marriage. Invariably it warned him against women, but just as invariably Peter disregarded its counsel and followed the dictates of his own pleasure. The device of a head bestowed by a supernatural protector, was utilized by Gozzi in *Il re cervo,* where a magician gives a similar head to the king to guide him in the choice of a wife. Tieck, to be sure, gives a further satirical point by the epitaph on Peter's prophesying head: "Stay, wanderer! Beneath lies a great soul which gave itself up entirely to wisdom and developed only the head as the noblest part of the body."[14]

It is particularly in four satirical dramas which reflect the literary turmoil in Berlin in the 1790's,[15] that Gozzi ap-

[12] Tieck, *Schriften,* VI, xxiii ff.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. xxv.

[14] Tieck, *Schriften,* IX, 240.

[15] Cf. *Schriften,* VI, xxxiv: "Manches in meinen Schriften, was zuweilen der Leser wohl übertrieben oder zu gewagt finden könnte, vieles namentlich im *Kater,* der *Verkehrten Welt* und im *Zerbino,* ist nur wörtlich wiederholt, was ich zufällig in diesem oder jenem

pears as Tieck's model and stimulus: namely, in the *Gestiefelte Kater, Prinz Zerbino, Das Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald,* und *Die verkehrte Welt,* all belonging to the years 1796-98. Here the "pure pleasure" in the fiabe, to which the author refers in 1828,[16] leads to a specific adoption of Gozzi's spirit and plan of attack on his enemies and many adaptations from the Italian's inventions in character and motive.

The *Gestiefelte Kater,*[17] based on the well-known fable of "Puss in Boots," is the first of these adoptions of the Gozzi attack. Here, instead of imitating the fiabe, Tieck absorbed the method of literary satire used by the Italian, and produced a play which is written in the spirit of Gozzi, but which, in its satire and method, is just as German as the fiabe are Italian. Both authors use a childish fairy tale as the vehicle of their satire. Both attack a contemporary literary evil by the use of the fable. Just as Gozzi had attacked Goldoni and Chiari by ridiculing their dramatic methods, so Tieck amuses himself at the expense of Iffland and Iffland's manner. The German poet, however, goes even farther than his predecessor, by including in his satire the audiences which were in the habit of applauding the author of the sentimental family drama. Gozzi, at least, had never attacked his well-beloved Venetian audiences. Both authors made amusing use of the language and style of their opponents, pompous and sentimental respectively, in the treatment of trivial incidents. Thus in the *Amore delle tre*

Zirkel vernahm, oder was auch wohl im Streit als scharfe Waffen gelten wollte (1828)."

[16] *Schriften,* I, vii.

[17] The first edition bears the humorous addition: "Aus dem Italienischen" (Goedeke, *Grundriss,* VI, 2, p. 37), which points definitely to Gozzi. No attempt is made here, of course, to evaluate other influences, notably those of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Aristophanes, Holberg, etc., evidences of which are in some cases obvious and have been discussed in detail by Haym, Brodnitz, and others.

melarance, Gozzi thunders forth his nursery rhymes in the grandiose martellian verse of Chiari and Goldoni,[18] while Tieck introduces irrelevant scenes of sickly sentimentality, quite in the manner of Iffland and his ilk. In each case the satirist decks his figures ludicrously with the stylistic finery of his opponents.

It is then in the spirit underlying the play, rather than in its subject matter, that we must trace the influence of the Venetian upon Tieck. Nevertheless, there are scattered throughout motives and scenes, images and fancies that awaken for one who knows his Gozzi many memories of the Italian dramatist.

Both authors approach their audiences with a prologue in an attempt to arouse them to the humor of the situation. Tieck has his "poet" introduce his drama as follows: "My intention was to afford amusement by a whim, and if possible, by a merry tone, yes, if I may say so, by means of a farce, because our latest plays so rarely afford us any opportunity for laughter."[19]

Gozzi hits at his immediate predecessors in somewhat the same fashion:

> Degli argomenti abbiamo per le mani,
> Da far i vecchi diventar bambini,
> I pazienti Genitori umani
> Condurran certo i loro fantolini.
>
> D'inaspettati casi vederete
> In questa sera un' abbondanza grande,
> Maraviglie, che udite aver potete,
> Ma non vedute dalle nostre bande.[20]

The characters of the king and the princess as evolved by Tieck have much in common with King Altoum and Princess Turandot in the Gozzi fiaba of *Turandot.* Both kings

[18] *L'amore delle tre melarance.*
[19] *Der gestiefelte Kater, Werke,* V, 173-74.
[20] *L'amore delle tre melarance,* I, 36-37.

are woefully sentimental in their attitude, both are weak in character, and both are completely ruled by their independent daughters. They have a decided tendency to weep copiously upon the slightest pretext. Neither possesses in the slightest degree the dignity which is generally considered an attribute of royalty. Both are swayed by momentary impulses and influences in most unkingly fashion.

In both the *Gestiefelte Kater* and *Turandot,* the contrast between father and daughter is very marked. Tieck's princess is of the same type and race as Gozzi's Turandot. Self-willed, headstrong, and without ever having felt the softening influence of love, each makes up her mind that she will not marry. Yet the Prinzessin is after all but a very weak and colorless relative of the Chinese Turandot of Gozzi. She is quite willing to marry for love, provided she can find a lover among her many suitors capable of inspiring her with this passion. She has none of the strongly expressed hatred of the other sex that sways iron Turandot. The royal fathers are both most anxious to have their daughters married in order to assure a male successor for their respective thrones. They employ every means to persuade their recalcitrant offspring: appeals to filial affection, argument, anger, finally extreme displeasure. Yet their efforts avail nought until such time as the princess in each case decides of her own sweet will to risk the dangers of matrimony. This final voluntary acquiescence is then in each case all the father needs to render him completely, almost fatuously, happy.

It must of course be remembered that the entire comedy of *Turandot* hinges upon the misanthropy of its heroine, while this is but a minor point in the German play.

Another scene which recalls markedly one of Gozzi's clever inventions, is Tieck's presentation of the "rabbit" incident. The material for it is borrowed from the original fairy tale of "Puss in Boots," but Tieck's use of it suggests an acquaint-

ance of the kitchen scene of the third act of *L'amore delle tre melarance.* In the Italian work the king's anger in the banquet hall at the non-appearance of the roast is indicated. The wrathful sovereign, followed by his entire retinue, finally comes into the kitchen to pass judgment upon the remissness of Truffaldino in letting the longed-for delicacy burn. It is typical of the fairy tale that this King of Spades should deal in person with such trifles, and the entire dénouement of this fiaba hinges on the kitchen scene. Similarly, in the German play it is the rather abnormal, decidedly unregal interest of the king in roast rabbit, evinced in his arraignment of his cook, which provides Puss in Boots with an excuse for presenting *his* rabbit to his majesty, and assures to Hinze the king's unstinted regard and affection. The attitude of both sovereigns toward their menials is precisely the same; the spirit of the scenes is identical, and although the execution differs somewhat, the reader feels keenly the similarity. Both scenes portend tragedy; both are changed to the greatest felicity, however, the one by the reappearance of the rightful princess, the other by the presentation of a rabbit by the ambassador of the hero, whose final happy fortune this gift foreshadows.

A common program inspires both the Italian and the German fairy drama in their championship of the traditional popular elements: the reinstatement and triumphant vindication of the Italian masks in the one case and, even if not in so marked a degree, the championship of Hans Wurst in the other. The German clown, who had been banished as thoroughly from German soil as the masks from Italy, partakes in this play somewhat of the character of the Giudeccan Pantalone. Hans Wurst uses almost the same language as that employed by Pantalone in speaking of himself. Tieck's clown declares:

Man is what he is. Huntsman, we cannot all engage in the same business. I am a poor exiled youth, a man who, long ago,

used to be amusing, who was later considered stupid, insipid, and indecent, and who has now entered service once more in a foreign land where he is again considered amusing for a time.

Hinze. Indeed? Of what land are you a native?

Hans Wurst. Unfortunately only of Germany. My countrymen became so clever at a certain time that they forbade all fun under penalty of a fine; wherever I was noticed, I was given intolerable, disgusting names, such as, common, vulgar, low; indeed, my good, honest name of Hans Wurst was degraded into a reviling term.[21]

Gozzi's Pantalone, as secretary to King Altoum, declares: "Before my misfortunes caused me to leave my native land and my good fortune raised me undeservingly to the honor of secretary of your majesty. . . ."[22]

The examination of the German play proves clearly therefore that Tieck, as he stated in after years, adopted the spirit, but not the subject matter, of the Venetian poet.

A much more striking similarity to the fiabe appears in *Prinz Zerbino.* Its sub-title, "Die Reise nach dem guten Geschmack," is traceable directly to certain lines in Gozzi's prologue to *L'amore delle tre melarance:*

> Un anno par, che loda abbia riscossa
> Ciò, che nell' altro poi non va più bene.
> La ruota del buon gusto è cosa mossa
> Da una cert' aura, che intesa non viene.[23]

In the same prologue, the boy attributes the disfavor into

[21] *Der gestiefelte Kater, Schriften,* V, 217. In a sketch roughly improvised two years earlier, "Hans Wurst als Emigrant" (*Nachgelassene Schriften,* I, 76 ff.), published from Nachlass, Tieck had already treated the reinstatement of the German clown, but the carelessly written sketch, a sort of preliminary study for the *Kater,* intended only for a circle of friends, has apparently a semi-personal orientation in poking fun at certain French émigrés in Berlin. Cf. Köpke's Vorrede, *Nachgelassene Schriften,* I, xii, and Haym, *op. cit.,* p. 97.

[22] *Turandot, Fiabe,* I, 209.

[23] *L'amore delle tre melarance,* I, 35.

which the Sacchi troupe had fallen to the reason that "nel mundo tutto è corruttibile."[24] This is echoed in Tieck's prologue by the line: "Alles ist vergänglich, Freunde," by which the poet prepares his audience for sudden changes in the play.

The similarity of the two plays is chiefly that of plot, which is the framework for their literary satire. Just as in *L'amore delle tre melarance* a young prince, Tartaglia, heir-apparent to the throne, is overcome by a disease, hypochondria, even so Prinz Zerbino is also extremely ill, owing to the literature and philosophy of the time. In each case strange whispers concerning the malady of the prince are abroad. The reader is introduced to the sickrooms of the two sufferers. The efforts of both Truffaldino and his German cousin, Hans Wurst, to relieve their patients prove to be in vain. A crisis is expected. Prince Tartaglia must either recover his health or he will die; Prinz Zerbino must either recover his wits or he will go mad. In both cases humor is to effect the cure. Supernatural agents cause the recovery of our heroes: in Gozzi's work the Fairy Morgana, greatly against her own desire, involuntarily evokes merriment, and thus cures Tartaglia; while with Tieck, the wizard Polykomikus, of his own volition, restores the so-called sanity of his patient by his magic. Both Morgana and Polykomikus are amusing to the audience and are held up to ridicule by their authors. Just as Morgana in her wrath ordered the prince of the Italian fairy tale to go in search of the three pomegranates, so Polykomikus ordained that Zerbino should travel, seeking "good taste." In both cases the courts are overcome with grief at the threatened loss of the heir-apparent. The princes, however, suddenly resolute and with renewed purpose in life, insist on starting off, accompanied only by a single companion: Truffaldino in the one case, Nestor in the other.

So far the plots coincide. The remainder of each of the

[24] *Ibid.*, I, 36.

plays is concerned with the journeys of the princes. During the quest in which the satire on contemporary literature is the chief object, the German drama is much more diffuse than the Italian fiaba, probably due to the fact that Gozzi's work was intended primarily for stage production, while it can scarcely have entered Tieck's mind to stage his *Prinz Zerbino.*

There are also in this play, as in the *Gestiefelte Kater,* minor incidents that recall the fiabe. Thus might be mentioned the idyllic, secluded existence of Dorus and his lovely daughter Lila, which parallels the quiet, retired life of Pantalone and his daughter Sarke as pictured in *Zeim, re de' genj.* The atmosphere surrounding both of these sub-plots is identical in its peace, beauty, innocence, and retirement, furnishing a tranquil picture of plain living and high thinking. This idealism pervades in each case the whole episode, which is brought in each instance to a satisfactory conclusion with the happiness of all characters concerned.

Gozzi was fond of using Pantalone as the kindly, sensible councillor of the kings of his dramas. In at least one instance, he employed the irony which was later so dear to the souls of the German Romanticists. A character suddenly draws attention to the fact that he is a character in a play. In *Turandot,* Pantalone, as he sees his majesty worrying about his daughter, says: "Cossa diavolo ga l'Imperator, che el va borbottando?"[25]—admirably rendered by Schiller:

> Rappelt's der Majestät? Was kömmt sie an
> Dasz sie in Versen mit sich selber spricht?

Tieck has adopted this device admirably. When the old king complains of fate in highly tragic phrases, which contain but puerile sentiments, however, Hans Wurst shifts the blame suddenly from fate to the irresponsible poet-author, whose arbitrary will constrains all his characters to be as

[25] *Turandot, Fiabe,* Act IV, Sc. 4.

senseless as he wants them to be, whereupon the king goes a step farther and draws attention to the fact that he and his fellow-characters are but the figments of the imagination of another. This abrupt destruction of the dramatic illusion became a favorite device of the Romanticists, and its use by Gozzi must have endeared him to his German emulators.

Of the less important characters, Polykomikus, the comic magician, has traits of Zelu, of the *Mostro turchino*. The home of the latter is a dark cave in a wild wood, little known to human beings. Polykomikus also lives in a deserted place within a huge rock. All men who approach the eery spots where the magicians dwell, do so with fear and trembling.

Polykomikus' assistant, attendant, and general factotum, Jeremias, is conceived in a manner altogether Gozziesque. The mocking spirit which he evinces in his treatment of the two courtiers who seek his master, his sardonic humor at their obvious confusion, the impish tricks he plays them, are indeed well worthy of the derisive laughter of Gozzi. His provocative transformations from a human being into a rasping owl, thence into a stuttering monkey, while conceived in a very different fashion, recall the changes of the magician Durandarte in the fiaba, *Il re cervo*. The stammering of the monkey recalls the stuttering of Tartaglia, who also passes through a series of physical changes of form in the Italian play.

Perhaps the greatest tribute and compliment which Tieck pays Gozzi is in the richly poetic scene entitled the "Garden of Poetry," in which the shade of the Italian dramatist is found in company with those of the greatest literary geniuses that the world has produced: Dante, Ariosto, Petrarch, Cervantes, Hans Sachs, and Sophocles. Gozzi, gazing upon the philistine Nestor, exclaims: "He would make quite a good mask,"[26] a remark which is borne out by the fact that

[26] *Prinz Zerbino, Schriften*, X, 276.

in Tieck's play Nestor takes the place of Gozzi's Truffaldino as companion of his wandering prince.

Here again, therefore, Tieck borrowed the central idea behind his work, as well as certain superficial points, from the Venetian. But plot, character and style have taken an entirely different form. The merry devices of Gozzi have given place to a satiric structure more profound and to forms which are more richly lyrical. In such a case we cannot speak of imitation or adaptation, but of an absorption of the Italian's lighter spirit into the blood and bone of the German satirist.

Die verkehrte Welt, another literary satire, the execution of which smacks strongly of the typically Viennese burlesque parody, has one passage which can be traced directly to the Italian poet. In Act IV, Scene 4, a naval engagement is staged between the forces of Admiral Pantalone and those of Admiral Harlekin respectively. The idea was to turn honest Pantalone into an Admiral of the Giudecca, and some effective stormy sea-scenes are staged for the benefit of the audience. While the Italian version is conceived seriously, however, Tieck's sea-fight is a farcical combat in which all illusion is willfully destroyed. It is made as absurd and childish as possible, so that we have none of that feeling of sympathy for the characters which Gozzi's creations develop in us in spite of ourselves.

Skaramuz and Pierrot, two mask-like figures found in the *Verkehrte Welt,* have much in common with the masks of Gozzi. They are stock characters of comedy and therefore speak in prose, while the rest employ a highly tragic style of verse. This follows wholly the manner of our Italian, whose famous masks always use prose, and the other actors regularly verse.

The title of *Das Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald,* Tieck borrowed from Gozzi's fiaba: *Il mostro turchino.* The German author confesses that he tried to combine in it a

libretto for a musical comedy with a fairy motif modeled upon Gozzi:

> If you keep this [idea of an opera] in mind on one hand, and Gozzi on the other, you will perhaps find that I sought the golden mean between the two and tried to evolve a practical demonstration of my theory concerning the comic opera. . . . .[27] Since I wished to keep everything general and desired to touch neither upon comedy nor tragedy, the characters of an eccentric, comic king and of his minister, who are treated in a more general sense, had to be dealt with as masks, which are reminiscent of Gozzi, and which became comical of their own accord, just as everything appears grotesque which is represented unchanged in its type. On this account authors have always drawn artisans as ridiculous figures, even as the doctor, the peasant, and the soldier become amusing characters in themselves.[28]

Gozzi's method of interrupting verse by prose, which he used so cleverly, having his masks adhere entirely to prose and the other characters to verse, was also made use of by Tieck in the work under discussion and carried further by him than by Gozzi. (Cf. above, p. 130.) It was Tieck's impression that the romantic opera suffered from a too lengthy, continually recurring *recitativo;* his plan was, therefore, to eliminate it by substituting certain characters who spoke only in prose throughout the entire play, just like the Gozzi masks. For his two never-singing figures, he took the king and his enlightened minister. "In these prosaic natures the lack of music [Unmusik] was to find its justification as opposed to the phantastic, superstitious, amorous characters. . . . In my delineation of some of the figures, Gozzi's masks had hovered before me."[29]

The similarity of plot between the two dramas is obvious. In each case the king's eldest son is transformed into a mon-

[27] Tieck, "Anstatt einer Vorrede," *Schriften,* XI, 148.
[28] *Ibid.,* XI, 150. [29] *Ibid.,* XI, liv-lv.

ster and is released only at the end of the play from his enchantment. Both kingdoms are ravaged by plagues caused by the wickedness and sorcery of the king's second wife. The queens are strong, dominant, wicked, but physically beautiful women, in whose hands the poor weakly, feeble-minded, tearful old kings are as clay. In Gozzi's fiaba the wife combats unwittingly her husband; in Tieck's libretto, brother is pitted against brother. Constancy of affection is the touchstone of the love-plot of both plays: in the one instance it is the constancy of wife to husband; in the other, of the lover to his beloved. Both endure trials and temptations greater than human nature can ordinarily bear before the common happiness is attained.

There is, in the *Ungeheuer,* almost a literal translation of certain lines from Gozzi. Thus Dardanè, calling forth the monster to battle, exclaims:

> Io son quì tratta
> A darti morte od a lasciar la vita
> Per quelle vie.[80]

These words are echoed by Aldrovan in a similar situation:

> Ich bin es der dich ruft zum Streit,
> Zu sterben oder über dich zu siegen.[81]

Yet, although the general resemblance of the two dramas is evident, careful investigation shows that, while Tieck followed the general plan evolved by Gozzi, he developed it in his own original fashion.

The enthusiasm of the German author for Gozzi finds its expression throughout the dramatized Märchen. That the application of the dramatic form to the old folk tales which Tieck found in Perrault's *Cabinet de fées* goes back to Gozzi's inspiration, is vouched for by Tieck himself on more

[80] *Il mostro turchino, Le fiabe,* Act III, Sc. 6.
[81] Tieck, *Schriften,* XI, 234.

than one occasion.[32] The Venetian supplied, as we have seen, individual motives and suggestions from *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il re cervo, Turandot, Il mostro turchino* and others, to each of the four works discussed above. Particularly is *Prinz Zerbino* indebted to Gozzi for plot and motives. Here, as in the *Kater* and still more in the *Ungeheuer* and *Die verkehrte Welt,* the reader is impressed by the lack of a clear cut literary satire as compared with Gozzi's vigorous onset against Goldoni and Chiari. With Tieck, the great wealth of personages and unwearied facility in versifying, gives to the whole an atmosphere of literary persiflage.[33]

After 1798, Gozzi's importance for Tieck's poetry fades. Possibly in that year, certainly in 1799, Tieck went to Jena, where personal contact with the Schlegels and with Novalis helped him to the development of an independence of his predecessors in the treatment of themes from popular sources, an independence shown in the Märchen in his *Rotkäppchen* and *Däumchen.*[34] His journey to Italy in 1805 brought him to the land of Gozzi,[35] but unfortunately too late to witness any performance of the fiabe, if we may trust

[32] *Ibid.,* I, vii ff.; V, 6.

[33] The influence of Goethe's *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* to which both Haym (*op. cit.*) and Brodnitz (*Die vier Märchenkomödien von Ludwig Tieck,* München, 1912), call attention, is really an influence of Gozzi at second hand. Cf. Chapter II, "Goethe and Gozzi." Considerable difference of opinion exists among German scholars as to the esthetic importance of Tieck's Märchenkomödien. Behrend finds in the *Kater,* unconscious "philosophischen Tiefsinn," while R. Benz resents this use of the Märchen as a "Geschmacklosigkeit im Deutschen," though in accordance with Italian usage, where the Märchen has always been a vehicle for satire. Brodnitz calls the *Kater* "eine sinnlose Posse," and finds the *Zerbino* an advance in that here allegory takes the place of the word satire of the *Gestiefelte Kater.* This question, like so many other Tieck problems, awaits thorough study.

[34] K. Brodnitz, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

[35] He did not visit Venice. Cf. N. Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck,* Leipzig, 1855, Teil 1, Chap. VI, *passim.*

a seemingly autobiographical reference in the *Phantasus* conversations of 1812: "Of its [Italy's] famous masks I scarcely saw anything even mediocre; Pantalone was fairly bearable; yet I did not visit Venice. . . . Unfortunately I could not see anywhere a play by Gozzi; these fables were probably buried in the ruin of the Sacchi troupe."[36]

We must now turn from Tieck's use of Gozzi as an inspiration and source, to an investigation of his attitude toward the Venetian in his theoretical and critical works. Throughout these are numerous references to Gozzi, but from the first we find no tendency to enthusiastic laudation, but rather an objective attitude which sees defects and limitations as well as virtues. He recognizes in Gozzi a poet of talent, worthy of being acted on any stage, but incomparably inferior to Shakespeare, for instance. This he had made clear in an essay, "Shakespeare's Behandlung des Wunderbaren," written in his twentieth year, in which he dealt with Shakespeare's treatment of the supernatural.[37] In it he states:

Nearly all the modern poets have felt the necessity for comedy; at least those have who have made up an opera from any strange fairy tale. Always one comic character, if not more, is found in these. The introduction of the supernatural into his plays was one of the means employed by Gozzi whereby he sought to exile his more talented predecessor Goldoni from the Italian stage. The irregularity of his plays afforded some English tourists the opportunity of giving him the name of an Italian Shakespeare. These two poets are utterly dissimilar, however, in the presentation of their characters and passions as well as in the whole arrangement of their plays. Gozzi had no plan except to entertain and provoke mirth; the majority of his dramas are farces, he dramatizes some Oriental fairy-tale, distributes some of the parts to comic figures, and adds the supernatural element,

[36] Tieck, *Schriften*, V, 477.

[37] "Shakespeare's Behandlung des Wunderbaren" (1793), published 1796; cf. above, p. 117, note 2.

in order to make his composition still more bizarre and grotesque. A certain evanescent humor and sparkling wit must be conceded his plays, but probably he owes it to the inclination of his countrymen toward the farcical that his dramatic monstrosities were applauded so jubilantly, and obscured the dramas of Goldoni, which are in every way far superior to his. The manner in which Gozzi employs the supernatural shows clearly how little he deserves to be named with Shakespeare, for with him it is but a toy to dangle before the eyes of his audience, frequently enough surprised by sudden shifts of scenery.[38]

Later, in his discussion of the German drama, he explained similarly the fact that some of his countrymen compared Gozzi with Shakespeare:

> When the Germans first came into contact with Shakespeare, immediately following their acquaintance with the French, they were unreasonably amazed at his manner of treating time and space; this, and certain peculiarities, such as the passion of some scenes, as well as the apparent mixing of tragic and comic elements, were and are to many still the distinguishing marks by which they differentiate the great genius. Some even, through the same cause, have gone so far as to call Gozzi the Italian Shakespeare.[39]

In his comparison of Gozzi with Goldoni, too, it is evident that Tieck appreciated the greatness of the latter,[40] but that he has also a sympathetic understanding of Gozzi's object in trying to improve upon the "wrong, effeminate morality or unmorality of the talkative poet."[41] He did not approve of Gozzi's attempt to oust Goldoni, or his martellian verse, used by the latter so effectively in some excellent comedies.[42]

Tieck was always greatly interested in national theatres,

[38] Tieck, *Kritische Schriften,* I, 60.
[39] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* IV, 182. "Das deutsche Drama."
[40] *Kritische Schriften,* II, 334.
[41] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* III, 221.
[42] *Kritische Schriften,* 159-60.

and he discussed at various times the stages of England, France, Spain, and Italy, trying to draw ideas from these which might prove fruitful for the establishment and development of a German national theatre. He perceived that the only true national feature of the Italian stage consisted in its extemporaneous mask-comedies. He observed and regretted the ephemeral nature of Gozzi's success: "How little national Gozzi was in spite of his talent and monetary approbation, is proven by the fact that his native land has already forgotten him entirely."[43] Perhaps, however, this might not be entirely Gozzi's fault for, as Tieck expressed himself later, in criticism of an Italian play[44] which he had seen performed both in Italy and in Germany, the actors of the traditional masks were at that time extremely poor, and their performance seemed awkward and clumsy when compared with the acting done by some of the good German players.[45] In advocating the rejuvenation and improvement of the subject-matter of German dramas, therefore, Tieck mentioned the use of Gozzi's work among that of others.[46]

Drawing attention to the fact that some of Gozzi's dramas had already been adapted excellently into German by Schröder and Gotter,[47] and that Kotzebue had "ungenerously plundered and grossly and offensively distorted"[48] the drama of many poets, including Goethe, Iffland, Schröder, Holberg, Goldoni, Gozzi, and Shakespeare, as well as other English poets,[49] Tieck advocated enthusiastically the use of the masks

[43] "Das altenglische Theater," *Kritische Schriften,* I, 219.

[44] "Diener zweier Herren," by Goldoni.

[45] *Kritische Schriften,* III, 35.

[46] *Ibid.,* II, 353; IV, 170.

[47] *Juliane von Lindorak; ibid.,* II, 356.

[48] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* IV, 206.

[49] It has not been possible to substantiate this statement with regard to Gozzi's influence upon Kotzebue, with the exception of a travesty upon *Turandot,* severely criticized by Hoffmann. Cf. below, chapter on E. T. A. Hoffmann, p. 136.

for the German stage. "Pantalone . . . this old man is in his very essence the merchant of Venice,"[50] he exclaims; and elsewhere he is very explicit:

> How much better it would be . . . . if for certain burlesques we did not disdain the old masks and, instead of a father, had right before us a Pantalone or instead of a daughter, a Columbine, the vivacious lover would be more veracious as Harlequin, the old uncle more amusing as the captain or the doctor, and the whole would move more freely in the element to which it belongs.[51]

He recognizes the difficulty attendant upon writing the dialogue for such figures, however: "Only, to be sure, if they are to have speaking parts, one could never exempt this grotesque, yet poetic task from the use of real wit, extravagant, mad sallies, and pertinent satire—in one word—the truly poetic; and that might be very difficult for the authors of the present day,"[52] he adds with a touch of malicious humor.

It is evident therefore that while Tieck recognized clearly the shortcomings of Gozzi, he appreciated just as evidently his good qualities. To those who have made a careful study of both authors, there leaps into view strikingly the spiritual kinship between them. Particularly while a young man, Tieck was haunted in his work by reminiscences, touches, fancies of the Italian. He perceived the value of the effective work done by Gozzi's fiabe in satirizing literary evils of his time, and appreciated the use of ridicule in dramatic form to kill off an opponent. He did not hesitate therefore to adapt Gozzi's fancies to his own purpose wherever he found them useful and appropriate, and thus created for German literature a new type of play, the satirical fairy drama, in which he follows in general in the footsteps of Gozzi, while at the same time he used his own fertile imagination for the

[50] *Dramaturgische Blätter*, IV, 8.
[51] *Ibid.*, III, 213. [52] *Idem.*

working out of details. Only a temperament such as Tieck's in his twenties, full of playful, mocking impishness, could have grasped so well the peculiarities of the Italian poet, and could have evolved thence original satires based on the same ideas as those which banished Goldoni from his native Venice.

CHAPTER VII

GOZZI AND CLEMENS BRENTANO

Clemens Brentano, of Italian extraction, was an acknowledged admirer of the fiabe of Carlo Gozzi. One might expect therefore to find traces of the influences of the Venetian in his works. Brentano himself wrote of his youth, of the fairy-land "Vaduz," in which his imagination dwelt when he was a child:

> I surrounded myself with those magical, flexible, unbreakable flower-gardens made of silken wire which, at most, I bent a little out of shape, and sat among them, reading of the *Three Pomegranates,* the *Little Green Bird* and the dancing water by Gozzi, and believed that I myself was a prince turned shepherd who, filled with longing, pastured his lambs in the valleys of this paradise and sighed for deliverance.[1]

Such an introduction is full of promise for the investigator, who, however, is doomed to almost complete disappointment when he examines the works of Brentano. There are remarkably few instances where any direct influence of Gozzi can be traced. It can scarcely be denied, however, that the fiabe stimulated and helped to keep alive Brentano's active interest in the fairy tale, and thus were of indirect influence on the creation of his charming and original "Märchen."[2] It was his enthusiastic yet passive appreciation of Gozzi which led his intimate friend Böhmer to insist that the Italian influence had been paramount in determining the poet's attitude toward this type of literature.[3]

[1] Clemens Brentano, *Sämmtliche Werke,* V, 9 f. (Early ed. in 9 vols.)

[2] Diel, in his biography of Brentano, draws attention to the reading of Gozzi's works by the author and his friends: "The singing was interrupted by readings from the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* or the *Märchen,* if no other works, such as Gozzi or Calderón, were at hand." J. B. Diel, *Clemens Brentano, ein Lebensbild,* revised by Kreiten. II, 292.

[3] A. Sauer, *Franz Grillparzer, Sämmtliche Werke,* IV, 482.

Albert Köster,[4] in reviewing Gozzi and Brentano, has summed up the situation excellently. He could find but a single motif from the fiabe in Brentano's Märchen. In *Liebseelchen,* a melancholy princess is made to laugh by an old crone, who falls into the same ridiculous position as that by which the Fairy Morgana in *L'amore delle tre melarance* caused Prince Tartaglia to laugh loud and long.

Köster also comments upon and criticizes *Die lustigen Musikanten,*[5] a fantastic Märchen-drama, into which Brentano introduces the three masks, Pantalone, Tartaglia, and Truffaldino. Never in the course of the play, however, do these figures become integral parts of the plot. They seem superimposed on the general structure, rather than an essential portion of it as they invariably are in the fiabe of Gozzi. It is impossible to imagine the latter without the masks, whereas the German play can easily be deprived of them without sustaining any serious loss. In his criticism of Brentano's characterizations of Pantalone and Tartaglia, Köster points out clearly and justly[6] the fact that they have not preserved their individuality sufficiently, and that they are not as distinct as their prototypes in their traits. For example, Pantalone lacks his usual gift of talkativeness, Tartaglia his habitual reserve. Both partake rather of the nature of the Italian Truffaldino, while Tartaglia is influenced too much by Shakespeare's clown, as in his philosophical reasoning. In his sole attempt to root these exotic plants in German soil, Brentano was, therefore, not very successful.

It had been the poet's intention to insert the story of *L'amore delle tre melarance* into his *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz.* Brentano indicates this in the sketch which he first made of the details of the Eighteenth Romance: "[Par. 35] Pietro sets fire to his house; there must be deviltry in it

[4] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 226 f.
[5] C. Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke,* VII, 233 ff.
[6] A. Köster, *op. cit.,* pp. 226-27.

and the tale of the three pomegranates."[7] There are several references to the pomegranates of Pietro's garden in the course of the poem:

Hoch bei goldenen Pomeranzen
Rankt sich aus den grünen Wolken
Deines Namens Sternbild, strahle
Günstig meinem Horizonte.[8]

Paris gab den goldnen Apfel
Liebend hin der Schaumgebornen;
Aber mir ward ausgeschlagen
Die granate schen geboten![9]

Aber ach, meine Granate
Gleicht den Äpfeln von Gomorrhe,
Innen voll von gift' ger Asche,
Aussen lustig und voll Wonne.[10]

And finally, in apotheosis, as it were:

Sieh, die Kerne der Granate
Die verglichen du der Sonne,
Sind als Sterne aufgegangen,
Leuchtend zu des Ew' gen Lobe.[11]

It is the opinion of Victor Michels, set forth in his introduction to the Schüddekopf edition of Brentano's complete works,[12] that the development of the Gozzi motif in the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* was prevented by the fact that the influence of Goethe's *Pandora* intervened and superseded the basic idea as originally planned by the poet.

There are a few additional references to Italian comedies or characters in the earlier work of Brentano, which, slight as they are, are worth noting as showing how lasting an impression the reading of Gozzi had made on the German

[7] C. Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke* (ed. Schüddekopf), IV, 414.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 77. [9] *Ibid.*, IV, 80. [10] *Ibid.*, IV, 81.
[11] *Idem.* [12] *Ibid.*, IV, xvii.

poet. Thus, for instance, from the latter part of *Godwi* (1802): "At night he [the young Genovese] usually came during the supper hour, sat down and chatted, told Italian comedies and imitated the tricks of Harlequin, Pantalone and Scaramuz."[13] In *Ponce de Leon* (1801), occurs a stage direction reminiscent of the mask Smeraldina, who is repeatedly cited by Gozzi as "mora,"[14] *i.e.*, a negress. Valeria, one of the principal characters, is introduced in Brentano's satirical drama in masked costume, as follows: "Valeria as a negress, masked with bobbed hair, a small bundle upon her back, a tambourine in her hand, arrives shyly and itinerant before the castle and leans against a tree."[15] A similar remote allusion occurs in *Aloys und Imelde,* when Domingo says: "Do not try to wash yourself white, Moor!"[16] perhaps a reminiscence of Gozzi's *Il moro blanco.* In addition the following are noted by Diel in his Brentano biography. He quotes Brentano as saying (citing von Holtei, I, 95 f.): "You do not know how restricted I am, how gladly I would be Cinthio, Truffaldino, and Scaramuz any day rather than Brentano."[17] Elsewhere Diel[18] asserts that he found in Böhmer's literary remains, a sketch for a poem bearing the title: "Der schreckliche Mann," beneath which was written in Brentano's script: "Beginning of a series of bitter romances or Pomegranates (Romanzen oder Pomeranzen) extracted from the sentimental torments of college days." Here again a dim recollection of Gozzi may have hovered vaguely before the poet.

Further evidence of occupation with Gozzi in Brentano's early creative period, is supplied by his correspondence. Under date of April 20, 1803, he writes from Frankfort am

[13] C. Brentano, *Sämmtliche Werke,* V, 339.
[14] *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il mostro turchino,* etc.
[15] Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke* (ed. Christian Brentano), VII, 97.
[16] Brentano, *Aloys und Imelde,* Act II, Sc. 30. Werke, IX, 108.
[17] J. B. Diel-Kreiten, *op. cit.,* I, 164.
[18] *Ibid.,* I, 102.

Main to his friend, Achim von Arnim: "Daily I gain a greater love for the clear prose of Cervantes, the drama of Shakespeare, the songs of Goethe. Much of Tieck's humor seems insipid to me, since I have read again Gozzi, Holberg, and many of the old German poets."[19]

Five years later in Cassel, where his friendship with Reichardt brought him into close touch with the stage, he is immensely interested in Reichardt's attempt to bring Gozzi's *Mostro turchino* upon the operatic stage.[20] He likes the overture "enormously," as he writes Arnim,[21] but criticizes severely the handling of the delicate Italian motives by the heavy German.

> I have heard only the overture; he has written two acts, he is writing it directly out of Gozzi's play [*Il mostro turchino*] and, in point of fact, is doing it very poorly. The silly Smeraldina he has turned into a sentimental, dainty lady's maid, and brutal Truffaldino into a common stage clown. He gives me one act after the other to correct, but I take good care not to change a syllable.[22]

That exhausts the list of references to Carlo Gozzi in the works of Clemens Brentano. That he knew and liked the Italian poet and long retained his interest in him, is an established fact. It is, however, Basile's *Pentamerone,* a collection of Neapolitan fairy tales, until then practically unknown in Germany, which proved the real source of the motives for his fairy tales. Perhaps the very fact that Gozzi was so well known in Germany, restrained Brentano from making greater use of him as a direct source, though it seems likely that Brentano's early and powerful interest in the Märchen form was stimulated by the highly imaginative fiabe of his Italian predecessor.

[19] R. Steig, *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen,* I, 72.

[20] Cf. above, p. 81 f.

[21] R. Steig, *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen,* I, 72. To Arnim, January or February, 1808.

[22] *Ibid.,* I, 243. To Arnim, Wabern, February 25, 1808.

CHAPTER VIII

GOZZI AND E. T. A. HOFFMANN

It was the *satire* as developed by Carlo Gozzi in his fairy-drama, which particularly appealed to Ludwig Tieck. E. T. A. Hoffmann, on the other hand, felt that the whimsical oddity of the Italian was closely akin to his own peculiar, fantastic genius. As this is, after all, the predominating quality of the fiabe, in which comedy and tragedy, mixed with irony, alternate in quick succession, and in which the bizarre eccentricity of their author is plainly revealed, it is not astonishing that so kindred a spirit as Hoffmann should remain through life an ardent admirer of Gozzi. This he demonstrates throughout his works. Everywhere the Venetian and his dramas are mentioned with genuine admiration, almost with reverence. No criticism appears anywhere; on the contrary, Hoffmann repeatedly regrets the neglect into which Gozzi has fallen among the Germans. Of course he does not always give us his opinions *in propria personâ,* but rather, through his characters, whose frequent and enthusiastic expressions of approval show the sympathetic feeling of their creator for Gozzi and his work.

One of the most appreciative passages is found in *Der Dichter und der Komponist,*[1] one of those clever dialogues in which Hoffmann loves to set forth serious ideas on music and poetry in light and bizarre form. After years of separation, two friends, Ludwig and Ferdinand, meet by chance amid the fury of war. An enthusiastic greeting is followed by reminiscences of the glowing ideals of their youth, which lead them into a discussion concerning the romantic opera and its requirements. Ludwig, the composer, considers this form as "the only true one, for only in the realm of Romanticism is music at home."[2] Though he advocates the use of

[1] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Sämmtliche Werke,* edited by E. Grisebach, Leipzig, VI, 76-98.

[2] *Ibid.,* VI, 83.

fairies, spirits, and the supernatural in the romantic opera, he discountenances them completely when used irrelevantly, merely to attract the mob by their spectacular aspect. Only the poetic genius can produce a real opera of this type:

> For only he leads the miraculous phenomena of the supernatural realm into life; upon his wing we are borne above the chasm, which was wont to separate us from it, and, having taken root in the foreign land, we believe in the miracles which occur visibly as the inevitable consequences of the influence of supernal natures upon our being, and [which] develop all the strong, extremely impressive situations, which fill us now with dread and horror, now with the greatest delight.[3]

The magic elixir of poetic truth must inspire the poet. The opera ought to disclose a romantic existence before our eyes, the language of which should be of the highest type; *i.e.*, it ought to be couched in music. Therefore the musical element must of necessity originate out of the poetry. To illustrate the work of the "true romantic genius"[4] who has produced such work, Ludwig cites "the magnificent Gozzi"[5] as a shining example of such a poet. "In his fairy-dramas he has fulfilled completely that which I expect of an opera librettist, and it is inconceivable why this rich treasure-trove of excellent operatic subjects has not been utilized more."[6] In his enthusiasm, Ludwig outlines in detail the story of *Il corvo*. Ferdinand, an enraptured listener, exclaims:

> I remember most distinctly the wonderful, fantastic play, and I can still experience the deep impression which it left upon me. You are right, the supernatural appears inevitable here, and it is poetically so true that one believes it willingly. It is Millo's deed, the murder of the raven, which strikes upon the iron gate of the dark realm of spirits, and now it opens resonantly, and the spirits stalk forth into the marvellous, mysterious fate which rules them.

[3] *Idem.* [4] *Ibid.*, VI, 84. [5] *Idem.*
[6] *Ibid.*, VI, 84.

Ludwig. So it is, and now consider the virile, magnificent situations which the poet knew how to evolve out of this conflict with the supernatural world. Jennaro's heroic sacrifice. Armilla's heroic deed—a greatness lies therein, of which our moralizing dramatists, burrowing in the miseries of everyday life, as in refuse, which is thrown out of the state hall into the dustcart, have no idea.[7]

He comments upon the cleverness with which the comic masks are inserted, an observation which Ferdinand commends highly: only in the truly romantic do the comic and tragic intertwine so thoroughly that they fuse into a unit and thus captivate the audience in wondrous fashion. Such wholehearted, unstinted praise could only have sprung from a spirit of genuine admiration on the part of Hoffmann. The reader is impressed with the earnestness with which the German voices interpret Gozzi's motivation.

A scathing criticism of the opera librettos which Kotzebue attempted to write, is the subject of a short essay, "Kotzebue's Opern-Almanach," which Hoffmann wrote in 1814 for the *Allgemeine Musik Zeitung.* One of these pseudo-texts in particular, the *Prinzessin von Cacambo,* aroused Hoffmann's ire, because the heroine reminded him of *Turandot:*

To be sure I noticed very soon that the nausea which I experienced, as after partaking of an insipid, tasteless diet, was to be ascribed less to the composition than to the conflict into which it came with my personal feelings [Subjektivität]. Princess Dudel, who is so superhumanly beautiful that everyone who sees her becomes subject, not to fantastic madness, but common imbecility, forced me to think of my glorious Turandot; and I felt as though a monkey had adorned himself in the garb of my beloved. That true opera ["Princess Turandot"] I composed long ago, as you know, although not a note has been written and the lines have not even been prepared.[8]

[7] *Ibid.,* VI, 87. [8] *Ibid.,* XV, 165-66.

Especially bitter criticism is directed at Kotzebue's conclusion, where the prince is cured of his insanity upon becoming legally the husband of Princess Dudel.

> Again I think of Turandot; involuntarily the comparison of the two plays occurs to me, which shows obviously the glaring contrast between the most exquisite poetry and the dullest prose. Think of Calaf, glowing with the madness engendered by love, of the emotional situations which are the natural result thereof, etc.[9]

Clearly, in Hoffmann's opinion, the works of Gozzi furnished par excellence the true and proper subjects for operas. In comparison with him, all other librettists fade into insignificance.

The same warm, generous enthusiasm toward our author is expressed in the *Seltsame Leiden eines Theater-Direktors,* a discussion between two theatre managers on many of the evils of the dramatic world of their time. Two of Gozzi's fiabe are found particularly worthy of praise: *Turandot* and *L'amore delle tre melarance.* The Italian versions of both of these are lauded, and the efforts, even of Schiller himself, to give a worthy German rendition to this delightful *chinoiserie* are discountenanced. The author then proceeds to develop, through the mouth of his characters, his views of the proper method of bringing Gozzi on the stage. One of the directors, fervently enthusiastic, relates his experience on seeing *Turandot* enacted in Brescia by a good Italian troupe, and draws a brilliant picture of the charming actress who took the rôle of the heroine: "Indescribable was the impression upon the heart, moved deep within in wondrous wise."[10] He then goes into detail concerning the effect produced upon the audience by certain dramatic scenes, and deduces that an actress must possess beauty, charm, youth, and magnetism to fulfill the claims of a successful

[9] *Ibid.,* XV, 167. [10] *Ibid.,* IV, 59.

Turandot. "Only the finished artist can grasp the heroic, or rather the insane rage of the Chinese princess without disturbing the magic of the most delicate womanliness."[11] As the discussion goes on, a certain German Turandot as well as a German Altoum are given great praise for the astuteness with which they adapted themselves to their parts. Certain fine points that enhance the artistic impression are mentioned, such as the continual use of a huge, strange-looking handkerchief with which Altoum wiped away his tears in a manner all his own. Hoffmann's director blames the lack of quality in the rest of the play upon the "poor adaptation. . . . Here again the blunder of a great poet [Schiller] proves my statement, that adapting plays is a precarious matter. When compared with the original, it is incomprehensible how it was possible for the German adapter to obliterate the finest traits, but particularly to distort the vivid, strong masks into such insipid, pale characters."[12] In criticizing the rhetorical manner of declamation prevalent at the time, which seemed very unnatural to him, Hoffmann compares it to the *"tuono academico"* which Gozzi advises that Turandot use in propounding her riddles. Very aptly the director adds: "It is the 'tuono academico' of the stage, and if Turandot is to pronounce her riddles in the 'tuono academico,' many parts spoken in that tone remain forever an insoluble riddle."[13]

Later in the same discussion, one of the directors grows eloquent in his analysis of the original version of *L'amore delle tre melarance.* "It is not a question of any young poet, but of one unduly forgotten."[14] The excellent fairy tale of the Three Pomegranates which the magnificent Gozzi left in outline for us, I am in the act of staging for my actors."[15] He hails it as a peerless example of combining the comic

[11] *Ibid.,* IV, 60. [12] *Ibid.,* IV, 60 f. [13] *Ibid.,* IV, 66.
[14] *Ibid.,* IV, 91. [15] *Ibid.,* IV, 91.

with the pathetic, exemplifying his contention by a minute and exact analysis of the plot, interspersed with extracts of Italian poetry. His listener, to be sure, was unable to see how such a play could be staged, the argument being, that only the Sacchi troupe, resurrected from the grave, could do it justice. The admirer of Gozzi would listen to no such argument, however.

> Do not sin against so great a genius, what greatness, what profound, stirring life reigns throughout Gozzi's fairy-tales! Think but of *Il corvo*—of *Il re cervo!* It is inconceivable why these magnificent dramas, in which there are more forceful situations than in many highly praised, recent tragedies, have not been utilized successfully as opera texts, at least.[16]

Further on Hoffmann adapts a motive from *L'amore delle tre melarance* in describing the methods of a young theatre-physician, who despises all medicine and proceeds by magnetic methods:

> After sawing the air surrounding the sick people a little with magnetic hand, he places upon their breasts, as was wont to be done with the magnetic wand, twelve sonnets, of his own composition, made for that very purpose, which he always carries around to that end. Immediately the eyelids close; if there is still a struggle, however, he sends a tragedy in addition. Already in the first half of the first act the most robust natures collapse, as if succumbing to the sleep of death.[17]

Here the reader is forced to think of the illness of Prince Tartaglia, due to the influence of the martellian verse in powdered form, administered to him as slow poison!

When Hoffmann's resurrected Spanish bulldog, Berganza, and the author have their famous conversation concerning contemporary society, literature and the stage in *Nachrichten von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza,* Gozzi

[16] Exactly the same language as that employed in *Dichter und Komponist.* Cf. above, p. 145.

[17] *Ibid.,* IV, 23.

again appears as the model for the German theatre. Criticizing the type of sentimental, bourgeois drama staged at that time in Germany, and advocating a revolution in the theatre, Berganza exclaims:

> On the other hand, the matter would have gone differently, indeed more forcibly and quickly, if a splendid poet [Tieck], who will still cause you frequently to thrill to the very soul, had at that time overcome his dislike of the miserable boards, and had related to us a fairy tale from the stage, just as Gozzi used the fairy-drama of the *Tre melarance*.[18]

In view of the fact that Hoffmann, as noted above, was so averse to adapting any play of Gozzi for the German stage, it is not surprising that no such adaptations are to be found among his works. This does not preclude the possibility of Gozzi's influence upon his original work; indeed, in several of Hoffmann's tales there is evidence of a spirit which seems induced by Gozzi. One of the best and most outstanding examples is the *Prinzessin Brambilla,* a fairy tale of the Carnival in Rome.

In his preface to this capriccio, Hoffman states very definitely:

> If the author dare recall that sentence of Carlo Gozzi (in his Preface to the *Re de' genj*), according to which a whole storehouse of absurdities and apparitions is insufficient to create a soul for the fairy tale, which it attains only through the profundity of the principal idea gained from some philosophical view of life, it may but suffice to point out what he wanted to accomplish, not what he has succeeded in doing.[19]

This reference points to a depth of thought behind the apparent nonsense, based on a philosophical interpretation which he had gained from Gozzi. Nor is this expectation disappointed. *Prinzessin Brambilla* is indeed a glorification of our Italian poet. Amid the utmost absurdities, embel-

[18] *Ibid.,* I, 131. [19] *Ibid.,* XI, 6.

lished with the most grotesque arabesques, related in the fantastic manner of which he was so fond, Hoffmann shows the evolution of Giglio Fava, an actor of innate ability and temperament, playing in the traditionally wretched, unnatural manner, the impossible tragedies of the Abbate Chiari. His rôles extend from a wretched tragical figure to an excellent mask, Brighella or Truffaldino, of the Commedia dell' Arte of which Gozzi was the champion. A minor action transforms a pretty young dressmaker into a furore-creating Smeraldina, who becomes Giglio Fava's wife. At the same time, the author develops his characters as symbols of the sovereign power of fancy soaring upward on the wings of humor—again precisely the effect sought by Gozzi. The attempt could be made to pursue in detail a comparison of the chief threads of Giglio Fava's development with those corresponding in the life of the Venetian: thus it might be pointed out that the eccentric Prince of Pistoja has a likeness to Gozzi himself, and so forth. Yet Hoffmann himself would be the first to decry such a method of interpretation. Having once conceived the general idea as outlined above, his imagination was too vivid, erratic and colorful not to investigate every cranny and crevice of fun whither his fancy might ramble, without taking thought of anything but the capriccio itself.

This does not mean, however, that minor points within *Prinzessin Brambilla* do not recall the fiabe to a marked degree. It is very apparent that Hoffmann had Gozzi continually in memory while he wrote his fantastic fairy story. For example, the masks are repeatedly referred to, particularly Pantalone and Truffaldino, two of Gozzi's favorites. Hoffmann may have derived the idea of the charlatan, mountebank and public entertainer, Signor Celionati, from a similar figure in *Il re cervo,* for Cigolotti holds the same position in the Italian version as Celionati in the German story. It is also of interest that the godmother of the heroine

of our tale, of Princess Brambilla herself, is none other than the Queen of Tarocke, Tartagliona, the wicked mother of King Tartaglia in *L'augellino belverde,*[20] and that her great-uncle is the King of Serendippo who, incidentally, is the hero of Gozzi's fiaba, *Il re cervo,* already mentioned as containing the figure of Cigolotti, prototype of Celionati.

More than once, reference is made to *Il mostro turchino.* The rôle of Prince Taer is repeatedly mentioned as Giglio Fava's best production, at least in his own opinion. One method of showing his gradual development from a poor tragedian to a good comedian is indicated by the change in costume as he wanders through the Corso. At first the idea is repugnant to him of assuming in its entirety the garb of Pantalone. Only partly does he consent to such disfigurement.

"No," cried Giglio, "no, it is not possible that Her Highness should not esteem a symmetrical body, that she should not be repelled by such a malicious disfigurement. I will imitate that actor who, when he played in horrible disguise in Gozzi's drama *Il mostro turchino,* knew enough to stretch forth from beneath the motly tiger paw the daintily formed hand, which nature had bestowed upon him, and thus to win the hearts of the ladies even before his transformation!"[21]

Again, Fava's impresario, unable to earn sufficient money with the Abbate Chiari's pseudo-tragedies to defray expenses, paves the way for our hero in his new rôle by opening his theatre to the neglected national masks—undoubtedly an allusion to Gozzi and the Sacchi troupe! A typical improvised mask comedy is then sketched, which, however, has not the depth of Gozziesque invention.

Besides actually bringing in the masks as part of the plot, Hoffmann has them discussed in detail by the group of

[20] *Ibid.,* XI, 17. Cf. *Le fiabe,* II, *L'augellino belverde:* Tartagliona, vecchia regina de' Tarocchi.

[21] *Ibid.,* XI, 21.

German artists in the Caffè Greco. It is in these conversations that the idea of a hidden, philosophical basis of this charming capriccio first becomes obvious. Reinhold considers the masks

> an open treasure trove of the most delightful mockery, the most pertinent irony, of the freest, I might almost say most impudent caprice, although I think that they concern the various external phenomena in human nature itself, or, in shorter and better form, regard mankind rather than man as an individual. Besides, I implore you, Celionati, not to consider me mad, or that I doubt finding in your nation men endowed with the most profound sense of humor. The invisible church recognizes no difference of nationality; its members are everywhere.[22]

This is surely as admirable a conception and appreciation of the types of drama resurrected by Gozzi as one may hope to find anywhere. Furthermore Celionati relates to the Germans the story of King Ophioch and Queen Liris. This king resembles Prince Tartaglia of *L'amore delle tre melarance* in so far as he, too, suffers from melancholia which will not abate until an exterior source of action causes mirth. He shares a trait of King Millo of Frattombrosa, who was obsessed by a form of madness that caused him to find pleasure only in hunting.

The Abbate Chiari and his illogical tragedies have already been noticed. They are scored severely by Hoffmann, who takes delight in censoring particularly the "rose-water of his martellian verse,"[23] which had previously incurred the wrath of Gozzi himself. Through the Abbate Chiari, he pours scorn upon all the petty German tragedy writers of the time, pointing out the chief defects which irritated him. The literary satire of these passages is very much like that found in *L'amore delle tre melarance,* in which sense and nonsense are mingled in heterogeneous fashion. A climax to this scathing arraignment is reached when Giglio Fava's

[22] *Ibid.,* XI, 42. [23] *Ibid.,* XI, 43.

double is found dead in the street, and upon dissection is discovered to have been, not a human being of flesh and blood, but a form of cardboard, the interior of which was filled with parts from the tragedies of the Abbate Chiari. "The physicians ascribed the deadliness of the blow which Giglio Fava received from his opponent to nothing but the dreadful ruin of all principles of digestion through the use of wholly ineffectual and insipid means of sustenance."[24] As a whole, Hoffmann's satire, while quite original, is influenced by Gozzi throughout, both in content and in the spirit of mockery which pervades it.

Perhaps the stimulus of writing the *Prinzessin Brambilla* dates back to 1804, when Hoffmann composed the music for Brentano's *Die lustigen Musikanten.* The production of this operetta, which was staged by the Wothe troupe in Warsaw under Hoffmann's direction, was a lamentable failure. The composer wrote of it: "Particularly the fact that the Italian masks appear therein, caused vexation. . . . Sacred Gozzi, what monsters were made out of the charming figures of your jovial fancy! On the other hand, they judged the music more favorably, they call it ardent and well weighted . . . in the *Elegante Zeitung.* On account of this composition I was called an expert!"[25]

A memory of this rather unsuccessful attempt of Brentano's to establish the masks in Germany, may have induced Hoffmann ten years later to reproduce the style of the Venetian in the fragment *Prinzessin Blandina,*[26] a romantic drama in three acts of which, however, only the first act was completed. Embodying a romantic irony in the manner of Tieck which is utterly destructive of all illusion, Adolar and Sempiternus, two courtiers of the misanthropic princess, themselves conceived in the spirit of the masks, state

[24] *Ibid.,* XI, 101.
[25] *Ibid.,* I, xxvii.
[26] *Ibid,* XV, 211-47. It dates back from May, 1814.

their opinion of the exposition which they are to furnish to the audience.

> By means of a few cunning suggestions we are to lead the spectator immediately *medias in res,* we are to hint that we are courtiers of *Princess Blandina* who, in addition to extraordinary, disconcerting beauty, bears within herself not so much a decided dislike of the masculine sex, as that she is seized by some foolish fancy, considers herself of superior, supernatural origin, and therefore locks her heart against every mortal. She raves about marriages with spirits of the air and expects nothing less than that some Ariel will fall fatally in love with her, will sacrifice his immortality for her sake and, borrowing without any intention of returning it, the form of the most beautiful youth, will woo her.[27]

Blandina's refusal of innumerable suitors has done the country great harm for, angered by her attitude, the rejected princes have warred against her, so that her army has been practically annihilated. At the opening of the drama the Moorish King Kilian is besieging the gates of the capital, ready either to marry Blandina or to conquer her kingdom and to carry her off by force. The similarity of this plot to that of *Turandot* is obvious to the reader, and is confirmed by Sempiternus himself. "Must I draw your attention to the fact that the whole piece is utterly miserable! A wretched imitation, nothing else. Princess Blandina is a modified Turandot, the Moorish King a second Fierabras."[28] Adding ironically that the progress in education enabled one to recognize at once the models employed by the poet, the latter himself maliciously draws attention to the fact that he is about to use Gozzi's style of writing.

Princess Blandina enters, preceded by Brighella and her bodyguard, and is followed by Tartaglia as First Master of Ceremonies. She is surrounded by Pantalone and other ministers and courtiers. Her entrance is a replica of that of

[27] *Ibid.,* XV, 213-14. [28] *Ibid.,* XV, 215.

Turandot in Gozzi's fiaba. Pantalone, whose attitude toward his princess is closely modelled upon that which he assumes many times toward the royal personages of the fiabe, that of a privileged tutor and friend, who has been largely responsible for the upbringing of his pupil and whose affection for him or her is the all-absorbing interest of his life, pleads with her not to admit the Moorish ambassador to audience until she has thoroughly weighed all sides of the issue. Her peremptory refusal causes his tears to gush forth in true Gozziesque fashion. The ungallant ambassador is forcibly ejected from the presence of the princess by an apparently obscure poet, Amandus. Her heart warms toward the ardent youth, while the members of her retinue, in fear and trembling at the outrage committed upon the ambassador, desire to hand the youthful lover over immediately to the wrath of Kilian, hoping thus to avoid the king's vengeance, which must otherwise inevitably overtake them all. Tartaglia, who retains in this play his character of selfish, intriguing statesman, tries to persuade the princess to accept the Moorish king as husband and thus to save her devoted subjects from the dreadful destruction which must otherwise be their lot. He is reproved for his reprehensible, disloyal counsels by the flaming Amandus, who, inspired by gazing upon the beautiful countenance of his mistress, rushes forth to challenge the Moor to combat. The implied threats which Tartaglia had insinuated into his discourse to the princess, are rewarded by imprisonment. Loudly protesting, he is led away by Brighella, who occupies the position of captain of the guard, which he usually fills in the fiabe. The conversation between these two is full of reminiscences of the drama of Gozzi. Trying to ingratiate himself into the good graces of Brighella, Tartaglia calls to mind "the golden days when in Venice at San Samuel the greatest miracles of the fairy world arose before us. . . . Nine hundred laughing faces hung upon our glances, our words."[29] Brighella

[29] *Ibid.*, XV, 225.

remonstrates with him, saying that it is scarcely wise policy to remind him of old times,

> for, with your kind permission! when I think of Deramo of blessed memory whom, with your treacherous Crif Craf, you changed from an estimable king into a wild deer, so that he had to wander through the abhorrent body of a shabby beggar in order to attain some semblance of humanity and to reach his wife; when, moreover, I recollect beautiful Zemrude and the unfortunate Sand, when finally I call to mind King Millo and Prince Jennaro, why, my dear Excellency, then I perceive clearly that since the most ancient times you have been either a rogue or an ass. In short, therefore! it is not yet time to celebrate the wedding with compôt of turnips, plucked mice and skinned cats. You must into the tower, your Excellency, neither singing nor praying will prevent that.[30]

Tartaglia, true to character, tries to escape in order to desert to Kilian, but is marched off to be incarcerated by Brighella.

Thus Hoffmann's intimate knowledge of, and profound interest in, the works of Carlo Gozzi is revealed once more. This is evident not only from the excellent characterizations of the masks, but also from the fact that he actually quotes the "nozze di rape in composta, di sorci pelati e di gatti scorticati,"[31] which were wont to celebrate the happy outcome of the Venetian fairy-dramas.

Nor does he omit to insert the fourth mask used continually by Gozzi, the amusing Truffaldino. He is introduced as the servant of the court poet, Roderich, and retains his character of comic, droll jester. With that delightful naïveté with which Gozzi had already endowed him, Truffaldino reveals involuntarily the secrets of his master regarding the superficiality of his mournful plaints as a rejected suitor of Princess Blandina. Following in detail his prototype in

[30] *Idem.*

[31] Cf. final scenes of *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il corvo, Il re cervo,* etc.

L'augellino belverde, Truffaldino divulges his secret plan, in case he should lose his position, to steal a large package of Roderich's verses, and to sell them to the cheese-vendors, "for thus I give an impetus to good taste by giving a distinguished extraneous taste to common cheese, and I obtain the wherewithal to live."[32] His chief ambition in life—and here again he follows in the footsteps of his Venetian ancestor—is to have a position as minister, with a side line as proprietor of a sausage shop in Venice! As a special inducement, he offers to wrap the sausages in his master's sonnets. After Roderich deserts to the camp of Kilian, he meets Amandus, who is en route for the Moorish camp to annihilate the king, and informs him that he does not wish to become a subject of Kilian, but that he wants to devote himself quietly to virtue and divine poetry, wherefore he desires, for the sake of inspiration, to open a liquor and sausage shop, promising faithfully to become his own best customer right away. There is much less selfishness and brutality in the German Truffaldino than in his Italian model, the flourishing sausage-vendor.

The combat between Amandus and Kilian is clearly suggested by that in the *Mostro turchino* between Dardarnè and the charmed knight.[33] As in the Italian play, the Moor belittles the prowess and strength of his opponent, and duly pays the penalty with his life. When his head is severed from his body, it is found to be an empty milliner's block. Similarly in the *Mostro turchino,* the charmed knight dissolves into an empty coat of mail and helmet.

It is to be regretted that Hoffmann did not finish this charming fairy-drama. His really masterly handling of the masks called for a continuation. By knowing the fiabe of Gozzi in the original language, he was able to gain an insight into their character and essence which showed itself in the

[32] *Werke,* XV, 230.

[33] *Le fiabe, Mostro turchino,* Act IV, Sc. VIII, Vol. II, 249.

vividness of his portrayal, which is lacking in other German adaptations. Like Gozzi, he uses prose for the masks and other comic characters, and poetry for the serious personages of the play.

To write a charming love story in the style of the Italian "novella," to weave into it some interesting details of the life of Carlo Gozzi, to have these incidents presented in a theatre devoted to the Commedia dell' Arte, and to have the whole revolve around the personality of a well-known painter of the Italian Renaissance, was the task Hoffmann set himself in the tale of *Signor Formica.* In none other of his works does the German reproduce so vividly and with such charm the spell which the Venetian dramatist had cast over him. Like Hans Sachs in the *Meistersinger von Nürnberg,* Salvator Rosa, the famous artist, is the master mind which undertakes to unite his young friend Antonio Scacciati with his beloved Marianna Capuzzi, who is jealously watched by her uncle and guardian, Pasquale. Her escape from rigid confinement and her marriage to Antonio is finally carried out by the aid of Nicolo Musso, the director of a theatre which is closely modelled upon that of Sacchi in Venice, to which Gozzi had lent so helpful a hand. The chief actor, Signor Formica, as Pasquarello, is the image of Sacchi himself. Indeed, the whole description fits the Sacchi troupe at its best most admirably.

Nothing more perfect could be seen that the improvised production of Nicolo Musso, which bubbled over with wit, humor, and spirit, and chastized the follies of the day with sharp scourge. Every actor did his part with incomparable characterization, particularly, however, Pasquarello, who bore the audience before him with his inimitable pantomime, with his talent to imitate well-known persons to the highest degree of illusion in voice, gait, and posture, with his inexhaustible caprice, and with the pertinence of his sallies. The man who played the part of Pasquarello, and who was called Signor Formica, seemed animated by a peculiar, unusual genius; often there was something so

strange in tone and movement, that the audience, moved to the maddest mirth, felt themselves chilled, and shuddered. He was worthily supported by Doctor Graziano with a play of expression, a voice, and a talent to say seemingly amid the most absurd nonsense the most delightful things, to which nothing in the world could be compared. It was inevitable that in a short time the educated class of Rome unceasingly crowded toward Nicolo Musso's little theatre in front of the Porta del Popolo, that everyone talked of Formica and exclaimed enthusiastically on the street as well as in the theatre: Oh Formica! Formica benedetto! oh Formicissimo![34]

What words could describe more aptly the furore created by Gozzi's fiabe on the stage "all' improvviso" of Antonio Sacchi! What finer tribute could be paid to Sacchi's incomparable acting of Truffaldino or to the excellent support of his talented company! There can be no doubt that Nicolo Musso is none other than Carlo Gozzi or that the Venetian playwright and his protégés, the Sacchi troupe, furnished the model to the theatre before the Porta del Popolo.

It is possible that an incident related in Gozzi's *Memorie inutili* may have suggested to Hoffmann the clever plan by which Marianna effects her escape. While in military service in Dalmatia, Gozzi frequently took part in the improvised theatrical productions with which the young soldiers amused themselves at Carnival time. Because he was still very young, he presented admirably the Dalmatian soubrette, Luce, and on one of these occasions he impersonated the wife of Pantalone addressing her child, Tonina, whom she had named after a very famous courtesan in Dalmatia. This woman was herself present at the performance, and was compelled to hear incidents of her life alluded to in some of Luce's speeches to her child. Needless to say, young Gozzi created a furore with his more than pointed remarks and caused the courtesan to leave the theatre in confusion. The idea of impersonating one or more members of the audience is em-

[34] Hoffmann, *Werke,* IX, 55-56.

ployed by Hoffmann in Signor Formica. Pasquale Capuzzi, attending a performance of his own opera at the theatre of Nicolo Musso, is greeted by his double upon the stage, yet with so changed a character, that Pasquale finds it incumbent upon himself to remonstrate with the actor. He is actually carried so far in his excitement, that he leaves Marianna unprotected while he mounts upon the stage, and she makes her escape.

Pasquarello's arguments with Doctor Graziano are sketched in outline in exactly the manner which Gozzi uses for indicating the speeches of his masks. It is of interest to note that in one of these, Hoffmann repeats a phrase used most successfully by Truffaldino in *L'augellino belverde:* "parla col cuore nel mano."[35] From the same scene he borrows another idea to exaggerate the comedy of the scene. In the Italian version Tartaglia asks solicitously after the health of Truffaldino. The latter replies in detail that his appetite and digestion are in good condition, "per servirlo,"[36] but that he no longer loves his wife, and he relates at length her foolish conduct. Similarly Capuzzi's double on the stage inquires after the health of Doctor Graziano, whose answer in substance is a somewhat softened form of Truffaldino's response, with the insertion of the ubiquitous "per servirlo": "On the stage Capuzzi embraced Doctor Graziano with great friendliness and asked him how he felt. Doctor Graziano replied that his appetite was good, his sleep sound, at your service *(per servirlo),* but that, as far as his purse was concerned, he was suffering from galloping consumption.[37] Only a very intimate acquaintance with the original and a psychological kinship with its author could have suggested the clever introduction of this motif into the German tale.

A critical analysis of such tales as *Der goldene Topf, Nuss-*

[35] *Ibid.,* IX, 74. Cf. C. Gozzi, *L'augellino belverde,* Act II, Sc. III.
[36] C. Gozzi, *L'augellino belverde,* Act II, Sc. III.
[37] Hoffmann, *Werke,* IX, 74.

knacker und Mausekönig, and *Meister Floh,* produces the impression that memories of the fiabe constantly haunted Hoffmann while he was writing these stories, memories which made themselves felt again and again in minor episodes and names and in the peculiar Gozziesque flavor of a word or phrase.

In *Der goldene Topf,* for example, the real heroine is the magical Serpentina, half woman, half serpent, a symbol for poetry, who is wooed and won by the student Anselmus. She dwells in the mystical garden in the house of her father, the Archivar Lindhorst, who is himself symbolically a salamander. The origin of her supernatural character, now serpent, now woman in love with a human being, may have been suggested by Cherestanì the heroine of *La donna serpente* who, herself a fairy, loved the all too human King Farruscad of Teflis. Gozzi uses the name of Serpentina for the fairy in whose garden the dancing water and the singing apple were to be found. In Gozzi, however, neither the name nor the fairy occurs beyond this one incident. A prominent part in the Italian play is taken by the Green Bird, who may perhaps be considered the prototype of the talking bird in the German Märchen.

Fate, in the shape of two chameleon-like figures who change from their human forms to supernatural beings and as such govern the destinies of the principal characters, is personified by the Salamander-Archivar Lindhorst, who is the protector of Serpentina and Anselmus, and by the old woman who variously assumes the shape of apple-vender, old nursemaid, and witch, and who tries in vain to gain control of the young student for her lovelorn protégé, Veronika Paulmann. The position occupied in the story by Hoffmann's two elusive, subtly mystifying figures, recalls the characters of Celio Mago and the Fairy Morgana in *L'amore delle tre melarance.* They, too, are the guardian-spirits of the two factions which combat for and against the destiny of Prince

Tartaglia of Coppè and Princess Ninetta. In both instances the women, Liese and Veronika, as well as Morgana and Clarice, typify the Philistine, mediocre, commonplace element in literature which meets defeat at the hands of the truly poetic, idealistic element, symbolized by Lindhorst and Anselmus and their quasi-models, Celio Mago and Prince Tartaglia. Both Princess Serpentina and Princess Ninetta, two sylphlike, unearthly fairies, only partly human in origin, attract the poetic natures of their lovers who have to prove their worth and fitness to enter the celestial realms of true literary genius.

It is indeed in the vivid consciousness of the eternal conflict between philistine mediocrity and true art that the Venetian playwright and the German Romanticist meet on common ground. Both the play and the story unite fantastic imagination with biting satire on the prevailing literary taste of the times. Anselmus who possesses the latent powers of a great poet, tries professional life and almost succumbs to the torture of having the wings of his fancy clipped to meet the requirement of living hemmed in a "glass bottle," i.e., of settling down to the humdrum existence of a literary hack. Similarly Tartaglia is threatened with death by hypochondria, the effect of the contemporary literature of Chiari and Goldoni. Both heroes are finally rescued after a fierce struggle and are happily united to true poetry in the personifications of Serpentina and Ninetta.

In Gozzi's *Re cervo,* King Deramo was aided in his search for a sincere, true, and loving wife by a gift from the magician Durandarte, consisting of a magic bust which by its betraying laugh reveals the falseness of the women who affirm their affection for the King. For five years King Deramo seeks his ideal in vain. Finally he finds it in Angela, the daughter of his second minister, Pantalone. Rejoicing in his newly acquired unexpected happiness, he expresses his love for Angela by destroying the bust, declaring that he

wishes never to be tempted henceforth to suspect her love, faith, or virtue.

Angela, the personification of loving womanhood, and the test to which she submitted triumphantly, so impressed Hoffmann, that he embodied this episode in his *Meister Floh.* Instead of a bust, the hero, Peregrinus Thyss, was presented with a microscopic lens which enabled him to look right through the minds of men and to read their innermost thoughts. The scope of this magical gift is developed to embrace not only women, but all mankind. Thus he is able to tell false friends from true; to ward off the results of evil machinations plotted against him; to mingle freely in society, hearing not only the conventional statements made to his face, but divining the true thoughts of the people making them, only too often the reverse of the flattery accorded him. When he falls in love with Röschen Lämmerhirt, a beautiful, innocent, young girl, he is tempted to use the lens on her also: he recognizes in time, however, how contemptible such a procedure would be and is ready to destroy the lens which would inevitably make of him a misanthrope:

"What," he exclaimed to himself, "a man who pries into the most hidden thoughts of his fellowmen, does not this baneful gift bring upon him the dreadful fate which befell the Wandering Jew, who wandered through the motliest, bustling throng in the world without joy, without hope, without sorrow, in dumb indifference, which is the *caput mortuum* of despair? Always hoping anew, always trusting anew, yet continually bitterly disappointed, what else can happen but that distrust, horrid suspicion, hatred, lust for revenge should settle within the soul and devour every vestige of the truly humane principle which is expressed in mild confidence, in pious kindliness? . . . . Even true friends, who really mean well—how changeable is the nature of man! Cannot a malicious conjuncture of disagreeable circumstances, an ill humor originating in the injustice of capricious accident, produce in the souls of these friends a passing, hostile thought? And this thought is seized by the unhappy lens, dark distrust

fills the mind and in the most unjust anger, in insane folly, I thrust the true friend from my bosom and deeper and deeper into the very root of life the deadly poison of wicked resentment eats its way."[38]

Hoffmann has not only grasped and adapted the idea originating in Gozzi's fiaba; he has developed and amplified it into an ethical, humanitarian principle. The same broadening principle he uses with regard to the second secret which each of the monarchs possessed. King Deramo has a charm with a certain intrinsic, specific virtue. In Peregrinus this becomes a talisman of the highest potency: the all-embracing power of genuine love. A few less important passages in *Meister Floh* also have an interesting Gozziesque flavor and are, perhaps, worthy of mention. When Hoffmann calls upon "nursemaids, old cronies, etc."[39] as the most excellent tellers of fairy tales, one remembers Gozzi's tribute to "grandams, and so forth" for the same reason. Peregrinus' youthful predilection for the city of Pekin[40] is attributable perhaps, to memories of *Turandot,* while the allusions to Samarkand[41] savor strongly of *I pitocchi fortunati* and others of the fiabe. A distinct reference to *L'amore delle tre melarance* is made by one of the characters, George Pepusch, when he likens the flea-tamer Leuwenhöck "to the awkward servant . . . . who liberated two maidens from the pomegranates, without first securing the means of keeping them alive, so that they perished miserably before his eyes."[42]

Indirect allusions to fiabe of Gozzi are found in two other fairy tales of Hoffmann: In *Nussknacker und Mausekönig,* an active part in the battle between the toy-soldiers and the mice is taken by Pantalon, who directed the cavalry; while one of the principal characters of *Klein Zaches genannt Zinnober* is the Fee Rosabelverde, whose name may be a

[38] Hoffmann, *Werke,* XII, 126.
[39] *Ibid.,* XII, 5.
[40] *Ibid.,* XII, 12. [41] *Ibid.,* XII, 32. [42] *Ibid.,* XII, 36.

direct adaptation of *L' augellino belverde.* She, too, has the faculty of changing her shape, and guides the destinies of her protégé, as her prototype did before her. When observed secretly in the forest, she was seen to take particular pleasure in conversing with "rare birds having gaily-colored plumage, not at all native in the district, [which] fluttered around and caressed her, and seemed to tell her all sorts of merry things which made her laugh and rejoice."[43] She was one of several fairies who had chosen for their home the peaceful spot where the action of the tale is laid. Its beautiful landscape, its delightful climate, and the freedom promised them had induced them to settle there, even as the fairies had settled in the realm of King Farruscad of Teflis.[44]

The sad, fatalistic tale of *Der Magnetiseur,* with its weird ending, while not at all reminiscent of the fiabe of Gozzi, refers at least once to the Italian in a way to evidence still further Hoffmann's preoccupation with him and to document it for an early period of his literary career.[45] The painter, Franz Bickert, whose characteristics as portrayed in the story recall Hoffmann himself, expressing his attitude toward dreams, explains that by busying his mind with memories of strange figures of comic adventures which he had either previously encountered on his travels or which were figments of his wandering fancy, he could prepare for himself the most entertaining dramas for the night.

> It seems as though, during the preceding evening, I had but given myself the outline, the sketch of the play, and in my dream everything would be improvised with ardor and life, according to the dictates of the poet. I bear the whole Sacchi troupe within me, which presents so vividly the Gozziesque fairy tale with every

[43] *Ibid.*, V, 11.

[44] C. Gozzi, *Le fiabe, La donna serpente.*

[45] Begun in Dresden, May 19, 1813. Cf. Hoffmann's *Tagebücher und literarische Entwürfe,* hrsg. von Hans von Müller, Berlin, 1915, p. 198.

nuance copied from life, so that the audience, which I represent also, believes in it as though it were true.[46]

The charming heroine, Marie, is subjected to a peculiar, somnambulistic condition due to her evil genius, the mesmeriser Alban. She confides to her friend Adelgunde that, while in this trancelike state, all the fairy-stories which had been wont to delight her as a child become startlingly alive to her. She mentions particularly *Das grüne Vögelchen* and *Prinz Fakardin von Trebisond,* the former of which furnishes the subject of one of Gozzi's best known fiabe. When Alban appears in her dreams, he is always clothed in a long *talar* and wears a diamond crown, "like the romantic king in the fairy-like world of spirits,"[47] reminding the reader of Sinadab, King of Samandal, the villainous wizard of *La Zobeide,* whose evil influence and machinations are of the same malignancy as those of Alban, who causes the death of Marie and her family.

Venice is the scene of one of the most beautiful of Hoffmann's tales, *Doge und Dogaresse.*[48] The story is built up around a picture exhibited at the Berlin Academy of Arts in 1816 by the painter C. Kolbe, in which a gray-bearded, magnificently clad, old doge walks beside his wife, a very young, beautiful woman, who is lost in dreamy longing. They are followed by an elderly woman and a man carrying an open sunshade. A gondola, richly decorated and bearing the Venetian flag is visible; in it are two gondoliers. This picture, Hoffmann tells us, evoked the admiration of the frequenters of the Academy, one of whom, in a burst of enthusiasm, exclaimed: "O wonderful Venice!" and quoted Turandot's riddle of the Lion of the Adriatic: "Dimmi qual sia quella terribil fera."[49] He was answered by a sonorous voice which quoted Prince Calaf's correct solution: *Tu quad-*

[46] Hoffmann, *Werke,* I, 147.
[47] *Ibid.,* I, 163. [48] *Ibid.,* VII, 101-45. [49] *Ibid.,* VII, 102.

rupede fera."[50] This unexpected, somewhat singular, reply from a total stranger led to a mutual introduction and the tale of Marino Falieri, Doge of Venice, and his wife Annunziata.

Other allusions might be mentioned *en passant* to illustrate still further how readily Gozzi's figures and the apparatus of the fiabe came to Hoffmann's mind. The hero of *Die Irrungen,* Baron Theodor von S., becomes interested in an unknown, heavily veiled lady. When finally she removed the veil, her beauty had the effect of "Turandot's fatal glance"[51] upon him and he falls hopelessly in love with her. A similar situation prevails in *Der unheimliche Gast.* Count S., upon seeing the photograph of the daughter of a friend, becomes as madly enamored of her as Calaf had been of Turandot when he beheld the miniature of the latter. The father of the young girl, Angelika who, apropos, bears a name which recurs continually in the fiabe, "jested at the strange effect of the picture, called the Count a new Calaf, and wished him happiness, that his good Angelika would not prove a Turandot, at least."[52]

The gambler Vertua and his daughter Angela, who are two of the chief characters of *Spielerglück,* are reminiscent of old Pantalone and his beautiful daughter, so frequently met with in the fiabe. This particular motive in which a lovely, pure young girl willingly assumes the burden of supporting her father,[53] is found in both the German tale and in the Italian play, *I pitocchi fortunati.* It may not be entirely a coincidence that both the heroines bear the same name.

The chapter of the "Contrattempi" in the *Memorie inutili* which so attracted Ludwig Tieck, as well as many other authors, is alluded to by Hoffmann in his novel *Der Zusammenhang der Dinge.*[54] One of the main characters, Ludwig, relates the facts of a portentous day on which everything

[50] *Idem.* [51] *Ibid.,* VIII, 75. [52] *Ibid.,* VIII, 108.
[53] *Ibid.,* VIII, 217. [54] *Ibid.,* IX, 124-71.

went wrong, until a climax was reached when he found that he had proposed to the wrong woman: a chapter of accidents "worthy of Carlo Gozzi himself!"

An amusing adaptation of one of Brighella's speeches is to be found in *Kater Murr*. The famous cat, Murr, who had just given a detailed account of his first duel, had won it by feinting. Thence he drew his philosophical conclusion for the benefit of all young tom-cats: "that courage and bravery avail nought against feinting and that, therefore, an exact study of this art is necessary in order not to be downtrodden, but to remain erect. 'Chi no se ajuta, se nega,' says Brighella in Gozzi's *Pitocchi fortunati* and the man is right, absolutely right."[55] Here is a true perception of Gozzi's humor conceived in a similar mocking spirit.

Into the Kreisler biography, which is part of the same work, creeps a touch of Gozziesque characterization and allusion in conjunction with the Neapolitan villain, Prince Hektor. When the latter first came into contact with the eccentric conductor, his insolent bearing stung Kreisler to the quick, causing him to exclaim with that bitter, biting sarcasm for which he was famous: "Considering that he is an Italian guardsman, the noble gentleman speaks German tolerably well; tell him, your Excellency, that I can serve him with the choicest Neapolitan and shall not smuggle in any proper Romanic, least of all however, like a mask of Gozzi, despicable Venetian,"[56] a reference to the city where Hektor had been guilty of great crime.

The same prince who was the suitor of charming Princess Hedwiga, has an uncanny atmosphere surrounding him which involuntarily causes him to be regarded in the light of a monster.

> The Princess maintained nothing less than that, while dancing, the Prince had become transformed into a dragon-like monster, and that he had stabbed her heart with a pointed, red-hot tongue.

[55] *Ibid.*, X, 242. [56] *Ibid.*, X, 145.

"God help us," exclaimed Benzon, "perhaps Prince Hektor is the *mostro turchino* from the Gozzi fiaba! What fancies! It will finally end as with Kreisler, whom you considered a menacing maniac!" "Never," exclaimed the Princess passionately, and then added laughingly, "truly, I should not like my good Kreisler to change as suddenly into the *mostro turchino* like Prince Hektor!"[57]

The princess was not the only one who felt the evil influence emanating from the prince. Madame Benzon's daughter, Julia, a girl of the finest type and character, experienced the same sensations when in the company of the prince as Hedwiga had done. She likened him to a murderer who has picked out his victim, whose baleful glance slew before he drew the dagger. She compared him to a basilisk whose very look, like a poisonous flame, instantly annihilated him who looked at him. Again her mother, trying to soothe Julia, laughingly mentioned the *mostro turchino:* "since the Prince, although he was the most handsome, charming young man, appeared to two young girls as a dragon, and as a basilisk."[58] How justified these girls were in their instinctive dread of the Neapolitan was later shown by Kreisler, who commended them for their intuition.[59] Prince Hektor turned out to be a murderer and bandit of the worst type, just as loathsome a character morally as the *mostro turchino* appeared physically to those who saw him before his disenchantment. The parallel established by Hoffmann is very interesting.

The deeply sympathetic bond which united Hoffmann's genius to that of Gozzi did not escape the attention of the contemporaries of the bizarre German Romanticist. In 1822, the year of Hoffmann's death, a comic opera was produced in Vienna[60] and in Pesth,[61] entitled *Der Zauberspruch,* in two

[57] *Ibid.,* X, 171. [58] *Ibid.,* X, 172. [59] *Ibid.,* X, 184.
[60] P----g in *Bäurles Theaterzeitung,* 1822, Nr. 54.
[61] *Ibid.,* Nr. 88 and 119.

acts, with music by Pixis. The plot seems to have been taken from *Il corvo*.[62] The text was ascribed by critics to Hoffmann. The criticisms contained in various numbers of the *Bäuerle Theaterzeitung* differ greatly. The first one is frankly laudatory. "There is probably but one man in all Germany who could stage the fiabe of Gozzi, which are in themselves at present incapable of production, in proper adaptation for our theatre, and this is Hoffmann in Berlin. He alone understands how to prune the too voluptuous protuberances of the rude but virile genius in such wise that the whole appears in a more pleasing, modern form, without losing in intrinsic value on that account," writes P——g.[63] A few months later the correspondent from Pesth records his impression: "Few merits in composition, none at all in poetry."[64] The production does not seem to have been staged elsewhere, at least no further reference to it has been found. It is worth noting that Jean Paul Richter also felt the close relationship between Hoffmann and Gozzi when he dubbed the former "dieser malende Gozzi"[65] in his preface to the *"Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier."*

The kinship between Hoffmann and the Venetian dramatist rests on a similar soul-experience, similarity in grotesque fancy, a kindred conception of caustic humor and the same penetrating vision of the literary evils of their time. This innate fellowship caused Hoffmann to absorb and appreciate the work of Carlo Gozzi as no other had done before him, and the natural result is the frequent analyses, characterizations, and allusions to the fiabe scattered through his works, to which attention has been called. All of these, as has been pointed out repeatedly, are laudatory to the point of en-

[62] It was not possible to obtain a copy of this libretto, nor is it contained in Hoffmann's collected works.

[63] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* Nr. 54.

[64] *Ibid.,* Nr. 119.

[65] Hoffmann, *Werke,* I, 4.

thusiasm: always Hoffmann preserves a kindly, appreciative attitude toward the Venetian, regretting the fact that he should have been so quickly forgotten by posterity, and attempting as it were to elevate him to the position which posterity should assign him.

This genuine admiration never degenerates into direct imitation, but evidences itself in the absorption of the Gozziesque spirit and manner and in the reproduction of its essence in Hoffmann's inimitable, fantastic fashion.

CONCLUSION

How, then, can one summarize the rôle which Gozzi plays in the history of German literature? It is naturally, hard to reduce to absolute terms a discussion which is, which must be, in the nature of a survey and of necessity, incomplete. Certain obvious conclusions may, however, be justified. That Carlo Gozzi exercized a very definite influence upon certain phases of German literature is undeniable. The flood of translations and adaptations which inundated the German press and stage in the eighteenth century, though to a large extent ephemeral in nature, testifies to the keen temporary interest aroused by the Venetian and his works. The novelty and unexpectedness of the type of drama which he created caused German writers of the period to dress his work over in a form which could be appreciated by their countrymen, both as literature and as dramas for the stage. The strange and exotic atmosphere surrounding the masks, while it attracted these Northern writers, nevertheless baffled them, and eventually proved their undoing. While they may themselves have appreciated the finesse of the Commedia dell' Arte, yet none was able to reproduce the masterpieces of the Italian in a way which could convey to a German audience the evanescent charm of the fiabe.

In the course of years, as the Romantic theories gradually took possession of German literary circles, the interest manifested in Gozzi, took a different turn. His German readers sought—and found—in his works fundamental, Romantic ideas akin to their own. The Venetian's championship of a definite group of actors and their scorned art assumed for the Romanticists magnificent proportions. He became the heroic defender of the oppressed, the pigmy David going forth to slay the Goliath Goldoni, the champion of the liberty of the individual against society, the sole support and mainstay of a popular but neglected type of national art. The fact that though fond of mingling in society, Carlo Gozzi lived, on

the whole, the life of a recluse—a fact to which he draws attention frequently in his Memoirs—caused certain of the Romanticists to identify him with that sardonic, mysterious, ineffably baffling, yet irresistibly magnetic type of personality, which is one of the best loved creations of their School. Thus they surrounded him with an atmosphere which was essentially of their own imagination. Gozzi suffered all his life from the delusion that he was misunderstood. And certainly nowhere was he so thoroughly misunderstood as among his Romantic admirers in Germany. They felt a subtle kinship with this man, who had devoted his literary career to entertaining his countrymen, only to be rewarded with utter ingratitude and with oblivion even during his lifetime, for they, the Romanticists too, were at odds with the world, were misunderstood, and instinctively feared that they would share the fate meted out to him.

At the same time certain attributes of his art attracted them. His forceful satire of false forms of literature, his virile and fantastic imagination, his brilliant, imaginative phraseology, the plasticity and energy of his expression, awakened responsive chords. Some of the greatest men, not only of the period, but of all German literary history, like Tieck and Hoffmann, responded to the inspiration of his works and produced works which, even if not classed among their greatest masterpieces, will at least be known and appreciated as long as the fame of their authors endures.

Again the times change, and with them the fashion of the world of letters. It is no longer Carlo Gozzi as a precursor of Romanticism who fascinates his readers; it is the author of charming, light or melodramatic plays fit for the operatic stage, who attracts them. Again and again they are used with musical interpretation throughout the rest of the nineteenth century until this fountain, too, seems to be exhausted. None of the Gozzi operas, with the exception of Richard Wagner's *Feen,* are probably worthy of survival.[1]

The latest phase of Gozzi production in Germany and Austria appears full of promise for a spectacular development. Caustic humor, tragic melodrama and mordant satire are forgotten. Dainty, pretty, charming, the characters and masks have come into their own in a new interpretation, as they lightly trip across the stage in the musical extravaganza. It will be interesting to watch whether this new aspect of the fiabe will gradually develop into a further phase.

Meanwhile it may be stated unreservedly that Carlo Gozzi, both as man and as dramatist, has assured himself a permanent place in German literature as a source of inspiration to many different types of writers, and occupies a position which is far greater and more honorable than that accorded him by the majority of his own countrymen. The story of his adoption into the literature and the theatre north of the Alps is the record of a significant contribution from the colorful, artistic spirit of Italy to the dramatic life of the German peoples.

[1] Puccini's posthumous opera *Turandot,* while not a German production, should be mentioned among the operas based on Gozzi and Schiller destined to survive mere transitory fame.

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Abenteuer von der Schlangenburg, Die, 83
Amore delle tre melarance, L', 5, 10, 11-15, 20, 25, 46, 47, 55, 63, 73, 97, 113, 122, 125, 126, 127, 133, 139, 140, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 157, 162, 165
Augellino belverde, L', 6, 20, 46, 61, 97, 118, 139, 151, 157, 161, 162, 166, 167

Bärmann, G. N., 90, 91
Basile, Giambattista, 15, 143
Baudissin, von, Graf W., 106-7
Bettler von Samarkand, Die, 104
Bithell, Jethro, 112
Blaubart, 119-20
Blaue Ungeheuer, Das, 81, 82
Blum, Karl, 103
Blumröder, J. F. G., 82
Brentano, Clemens, 80, 81, 116, 139-43
Brighella, 9, 12, 26, 45, 54, 59, 78, 91, 106, 151, 156, 157, 169
Brüll, J., 104
Büchner, Georg, 110

Calderón de la Barca, 37, 38, 57, 85, 139
Castelli, J. F., 91
Chiari, Abate Pietro, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 27, 44, 47, 72, 122, 123, 133, 151, 152, 153, 154, 163
Commedia dell 'Arte, 4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 24, 28, 31, 34, 45, 54, 55, 95, 110, 151, 159, 173
Corvo, Il, 5, 15, 16, 30, 70, 73, 74, 82, 83, 90, 101, 106, 116, 145, 157, 171

Danzi, Franz, 89
Desdén con el desdén, El, 21, 84, 85, 87
Diamant des Geisterkönigs, Der, 97, 98
Dichter und der Komponist, Der, 144
Dieci fiabe teatrali del Conte Carlo Gozzi, Le, (ed. Hitzig), 80
Doge und Dogaresse, 167
Donna contrario al consiglio, La, 19
Donna Diana (Reznicek, E. N.), 108; (Schreyvogel, J.), 84-89, 95, 108, 116; (Wittkowsky, C.), 107-8
Donna serpente, La, 5, 20, 67, 75, 83, 84, 90, 93, 97, 100, 110, 116, 162, 166
Doride, La, 33-35
Dramatische Dichtungen, (Müller, V.), 108
Drei Räthsel, Die, 71
Due notte affannose, 57
Dyk, vii, 37, 57, 58, 61

Eckermann, J. P., *Gespräche mit Goethe,* 54
Entwaffnete Rachgier, Die, 46, 71
Ephemeriden des Theaters und der Litteratur, 36, 41, 59, 67

Falck, J., 102
Feen, Die, 100-1, 116, 174
Feenbrunst und Märchenliebe, 67
Fleischer, E., 99
Fliegende Holländer, Der, 10, 101
Frau als Schlange, Die, 108

Gefundene Statue, Die, 70
Gestiefelte Kater, Der, 122-26, 128, 133
Gläser, Franz, 98
Glücklichen Bettler, Die, 30, 31, 32, 43, 44, 45, 51, 56, 66, 90, 91, 105
Goethe, von, J. W., viii, 24, 34, 36, 44, 45-55, 56, 82, 83, 136, 143
Goldene Topf, Der, 162
Goldoni, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 27, 43, 47, 72, 85, 101, 122, 123
Gotha Hoftheater, 30, 31, 35, 37, 41, 43, 45, 56
Gotter, F. W., vii, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 56, 57, 58, 68, 95, 136
Gozzi, Gasparo, 2, 21
Granelleschi, Accademia de, 3
Graue Ungeheuer, Das, 70
Grillparzer, Franz, 82, 83, 116
Grüne Vögelchen, Das, 108
Guttenberg, A. J., 80

Heliodor, Beherrscher der Elemente, 98
Hermannide, vii, 28-29, 30, 63
Heyse, Paul, 105, 106, 116
Hitzig, J. E., 80, 81
Hock, Stefan, 83
Hoffmann, E. T. A., viii, ix, 80, 96, 100, 116, 144-72, 174
Horn, Franz, 72-74
Horschelt, 93

Italienische Reise, Die, 50

Jensen, Adolf *and* Elsbeth, 110
Juliane von Lindorak, 33-37, 39, 46, 51, 56

Juristische Schuhflicker, Der, 76, 77

Kampf mit der Riesenschlange, Der, 90
Karl von Freystein, 64, 65
Kastner, W., 110
Kater Murr, 169
Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo, 104
Klein Zaches genannt Zinnober, 165
König der Geister, Der, 71
König Hirsch, Der, 81
König Rabe, 69
Köster, Albert, *(Schiller als Dramaturg),* vii, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 40, 41, 51, 58, 61, 71, 76, 79, 103, 106, 110, 117, 120, 140

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 25, 26, 56
Liebseelchen, 140
Litteratur und Theaterzeitung, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 57, 58, 64, 68
Lustigen Musikanten, Die, 140

Maffeio, A., 103
Magische Eilwagen—Reise durch die Comödienwelt, 99
Magnetiseur, Der, 166
Magrini, G. B., 1, 5, 6, 16
Maranterl oder die drei Räthsel, 92
Martelli, 69
Martellian verse, 12, 15, 47, 123, 135, 153
Masi, Ernesto, 1, 7, 48
Mazzolà, C., 67, 68, 69
Meister Floh, 164

Memorie inutili, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 110, 113, 118, 119, 160, 168
Minerva, 95
Mitteilung an meine Freunde, 100
Moreto y Cabaña, Augustín, 21, 65, 84, 85, 87, 88, 107
Mostro turchino, Il, 6, 20, 48, 68, 69, 78, 84, 85, 90, 110, 129, 130, 133, 142, 143, 151, 158, 170
Müller, Volkmar, 108

Nachrichten von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza, 149
Nessl, E., 104
Nussknacker und Mausekönig, 165

Öffentliche Geheimnis, Das, (Gotter, F. W.), 37-42, 56, 58; (Tremler-Lembert), 95; (Blum, Karl), 103

Pantalone, 7, 11, 15, 17, 43, 59, 69, 75, 78, 91, 93, 106, 110, 125, 126, 128, 130, 133, 137, 140, 151, 152, 155, 156, 163, 165
Peter der Grausame oder die zwey schlaflosen Nächte, 60
Peter Lebrecht, 118
Phantasus, 134
Philosophische Dame, Die, 65, 66
Pitocchi fortunati, I, 6, 20, 30, 61, 62, 63, 90, 99, 102, 105, 106, 116, 157
Pixis, 96
Ponce de Leon, 142
Principessa filosofa, La, 19, 21-23, 25, 65, 66, 85, 96, 116
Prinzessin Blandina, 155-58
Prinzessin Brambilla, 150-54
Prinz Zerbino, 122, 126-30, 133
Puccini, Giacomo, 113, 175
Puntiglio amoroso, Il, 21, 23-24, 56
Püttlingen, von, J. V., 102

Rabe, Der, (Grillparzer, Franz), 82; (Pixis, Hoffmann, E. T. A.), 96; (Ribics, von, J.), 101; (Schwick, W. A.), 70, 71; (Wagner, G. A.), 74, 81
Raimund, F., 83, 96, 97, 98, 116
Rambach, F. E., 71
Re cervo, Il, 16-17, 61, 62, 63, 75, 76, 80, 92, 106, 120, 121, 129, 133, 149, 151, 152, 157, 163, 165
Reh, Das, 69
Rehbaum, T., 108
Reichardt, J. F., 31, 39, 81, 82, 143
Reichardt's *Theaterjournal für Deutschland,* 25, 35, 36, 43, 58
Reinecke, 57
Reinhard, C. F., 66
Reinhardt, Max, 111, 116
Reissiger, C. G., 101
Reznicek, E. N., 108
Ribics, J. von, 101
Riesch, Karl, von, 42, 94
Robert, L., 76-77, 79
Romanzen vom Rosenkranz, 139, 140-41
Romberg, A. B., 70, 71

Sacchi, Antonio, 9, 11, 25, 26, 159, 160
Sacchi troupe, The, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 25, 26, 34, 38, 54, 105, 126, 134, 149, 152, 159, 161, 166
Sacco, 61
Scheheristany, 75
Schiller, von, F., vii, viii, 19, 50,

51, 55, 59, 71, 72, 73, 80, 81, 82, 89, 92, 95, 103, 106, 110, 113, 115, 120, 147, 148
Schlegel, von, A. W., 37, 40, 51, 89, 106, 133
Schletter, Friedrich, 63, 64, 65, 66, 84
Schmidt, J. F., vii, 29, 63
Schmohl, 69
Schreyvogel, J., 66, 84-86, 95, 107, 108, 116
Schröder, F. L., vii, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 56, 58, 136
Schwick, W. A., 69, 71
Secreto pubblico, Il, 37, 49
Seelenwanderung, Die, 91, 92
Seltsame Leiden eines Theater-Direktors, 147
Shakespeare, William, 28, 30, 50, 73, 82, 89, 106, 110, 134, 135, 136, 140, 143
Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren, 117, 134
Sieben Weiber des Blaubart, Die, 121
Sievers, G. L. P., 80, 81
Signor Formica, 159
Smeraldina, 9, 14, 15, 20, 34, 75, 78, 108, 142, 143, 150
Strafe im Abgrund, Die, 42, 43
Streckfuss, Carl, 75, 76, 81
Sturz in den Abgrund, Der, 94
Sylphen, Die, 77-78, 81
Symonds, J. A., 1, 8, 11

Tartaglia, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 26, 43, 47, 62, 76, 78, 105, 127, 129, 140, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 161, 163
Tartarische Gesetz, Das, 32, 56, 68, 120, 123, 124, 126, 128, 133, 146, 147, 150, 155, 165, 167, 175
Theodora, 96
Tieck, L., ix, 71, 106, 116, 117-38, 143, 144, 154, 168, 174
Treitschke, F., 79, 81
Tremler, Wenzel, (Lembert), 94
Triumph der Empfindsamkeit, Der, 46, 47, 48, 55, 133
Triumph der Tugend oder der Mund der Wahrheit, Der, 61
Truffaldino, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 38, 39, 45, 48, 69, 75, 76, 78, 86, 90, 103, 106, 110, 125, 126, 130, 140, 142, 143, 151, 157, 158, 161
Turandot, 5, 17-19, 29, 30, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63, 71, 72, 73, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 89, 92, 95, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110-14, 115, 120, 123, 124, 126, 128, 133, 146, 147, 150, 155, 165, 167, 175. Foreign translations: 112-15

Über Carlo Gozzis Poesie, 72
Ungeheuer oder Liebe aus Dankbarkeit, Das, 67
Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald, Das, 11, 122, 130-33
Ungleichen Hausgenossen, Die, 49
Unglück der Donna Elvira, Das, 42

Verkehrte Welt, Die, 122, 133
Verschwender, Der, 97
Volkert, 83, 90, 92
Volksmärchen für die Deutschen, 117, 119
Vollmoeller, Karl, 110-12, 116
Vulpius, A., 46, 71

Wagner, G. A., 74, 81
Wagner, Richard, 70, 100, 116, 174
Werthes, Cl. A. W., vii, 26, 27, 28, 31, 37, 38, 43, 56, 58, 59, 60, 65, 68, 76, 83, 84, 91, 96
West, Karl August, *or* Thomas, *see* Schreyvogel, J.
Wie man sich die Sache denkt oder die zwey schlaflosen Nächte, 57
Wittkowsky, Karl, 107-8

Zapf, J., 75
Zauberer und das Ungetüm, Der, 98-99
Zauberfee, Die, 102
Zauberräthsel, Das, 103
Zauberspruch, Der, 96, 170, 171
Zeim, König der Geister, 75, 76
Zeim, re de' genj, 6, 20, 57, 97, 128, 150
Zimdar, C. F., 66
Zobeide, La, 5, 20, 24, 45, 66, 77, 78, 99, 167
Zobeis, 79, 81
Zwey feindlichen Brüder, Die, 59
Zwey Geheimnisse, Die, 75
Zwey schlaflosen Nächte oder der glückliche Betrug, Die, 59

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Columbia University Germanic Studies

GERMAN CRITICISM OF ZOLA

GERMAN CRITICISM OF ZOLA

1875-1893

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROUGON-MACQUART CYCLE AND THE ROMAN EXPÉRIMENTAL

BY

WINTHROP H. ROOT

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION xi

I THE EARLY RECEPTION

1 INTRODUCTORY SURVEY 1
2 THE CRITICISM OF ZOLA'S MORALITY . . 14
3 THE CRITICISM OF ZOLA'S ESTHETICS . . 18
4 SUMMARY 30

II THE RECEPTIVE CRITICISM OF ZOLA

1 INTRODUCTORY SURVEY 36
2 ANALYSIS OF THE CRITICISM 48
3 SUMMARY 67

III THE DISCOVERY OF ZOLA'S 'TEMPÉRAMENT'

1 INTRODUCTORY SURVEY 72
2 ANALYSIS OF THE NEW CONCEPTION . . 77
3 JULIUS LANGBEHN, ARNO HOLZ, AND MAX NORDAU AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PERIOD 88
4 SUMMARY 93

IV CONCLUSION 97

ABBREVIATIONS:

ALC	Allgemeine literarische Correspondenz
BLU	Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung
BMH	Berliner Monatshefte
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
DMB	Deutsche Monatsblätter
D.Rev.	Deutsche Revue
D.R.	Deutsche Rundschau
Fr.B.	Freie Bühne
G.	Gegenwart
Ges.	Gesellschaft
Gr.	Grenzboten
Kw.	Kunstwart
Mag.	Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes
Nat.	Nation (Berlin)
NZ	Die Neue Zeit
NuS.	Nord und Süd
UZ	Unsere Zeit

INTRODUCTION

The present study aims to give a detailed analysis of the German criticism of Émile Zola's Rougon-Macquart cycle and his theory of the 'roman expérimental,' in the hope that the resulting picture may throw light on some of the problems of German naturalism and Zola's relation to them. It excludes all questions of naturalism per se, and all questions of Zola's influence on German literature, which evidently lie outside of the sphere of the present investigation. It merely claims to present, in a more detailed discussion than has yet been made, a complete statement of what the German critics,—in their reviews of his novels, in their theoretic literary discussions, in their analyses of his purpose and theory,—thought of Zola and his novels. The question of Zola's dramas has been treated only in so far as it is an integral part of his 'experimental' theory. Since the Rougon-Macquart cycle has been chosen as the basis of our study, the final date of our discussions is the year 1893. There is no intention of suggesting that criticism of Zola ceased at this date. It may be pointed out, however, that the years before 1893 are the important years in the history of Zola's relation to German literature, and that the criticism after 1893 may justly be considered a new phase which is not as creative and fruitful for German literature. We have centered our interest on the naturalistic Zola of the Rougon-Macquart cycle, not on the more subjective Zola of *Les Trois Villes* and *Les Quatre Évangiles*. We have traced the attack on Zola's naturalism, the rise of the receptive criticism, and the revolt from this to an anti-naturalistic conception.

The investigation has limited itself further to a study of the criticism which we may call the public criticism of Zola. It has attempted to find the majority opinion at any given time as it was expressed in the leading journals, the popular literary histories and essays, and in the monographs which, as manifestos of the opposing schools of criticism, had a wide hearing. We must adduce this intentional limitation in answer to the possible criticism that the present study neglects the statements of opinion concerning Zola to be found in the letters and comments of men like Keller and Liliencron. Such statements, made in private letters or diaries, cannot be considered to fall within the scope of our work, being no part of the public conception of Zola. This interpretation of our problem has been substantiated by the fact that no reference to such statements was found in the material used for this investigation. Had such been found, it would have been treated here. The alignment of periods we have made would not, therefore, be affected by such statements, since our divisions have been based entirely on the public criticism.

Each of the three major chapters of this study represents the analysis of one conception or interpretation of Zola, and the years embraced in each represent the years in which that conception was in the ascendancy, not to the total exclusion of other conceptions, but as the dominating opinion. Before 1880, there was as good as nothing but hostility toward Zola; from 1880 on, hostility and enthusiasm ran parallel, the enthusiasm gaining ground, until around 1885 it was in the ascendancy. Even in the years of its dominance, however, an undercurrent of hostility is present; hostility did not entirely cease, it became subordinate. So with the third period, we find the second and third conceptions running parallel for a time, the third gradually replacing the second. We may com-

pare the phenomenon to a river with three currents. Due to the configuration of the banks and bed, now one and now the other current becomes the main stream, while the others subside in turbulence and volume, but do not entirely vanish. It must be expressly stated that the present study does not claim that its periods represent in any sense the absolute termination of a certain conception, but merely its subordination to a new one.

The influence of French Zola-criticism on the German has not received a complete statement in our analysis of Zola's reception in Germany. It is possible here to make certain generalizations. It is evident from the material studied that the first period drew on French criticism frequently, as repeated quotations and references to French critics show. This borrowing is natural on the part of journalistic critics, and many of the earlier critics were such, who were attempting to give their public a picture of what was being said and thought in Paris. There was no evidence of any influence on the receptive criticism from French sources, save from Zola himself. The third period may be said to have utilized French criticism, although its conception would seem to be the result of a general tendency away from the naturalistic conception rather than the result of any individual French criticism. These statements seem warranted by the German critical material on Zola.

It may be well to say a word or two as to the importance of the conclusions reached in the course of this investigation, and their relation to the studies already made of Zola's connection with German literature and criticism. Chapter I of the present study complements and substantiates the fragmentary statements already made concerning the period of hostility toward Zola. It gives a more complete analysis than has yet been made. The second

chapter may make much the same claim. The discussion of Zola's individual novels in relation to German criticism, in all three chapters, opens up new material. The revolt from Zola and naturalism has been presented here as a discovery of the subjective element in his works; the importance of this discovery has not been fully realized as yet. Nor has it been pointed out that this discovery took place as early as it did, nor that it was so wide-spread. Brandes' share in the discovery has not previously been recognized.

Chapter I

THE EARLY RECEPTION

1. Introductory Survey

Seldom has an author's name been on as many tongues as was Émile Zola's between 1875 and 1885. Certainly no other was ever to so great a degree a symbol of all that was Satanic, for Europe thought it could smell brimstone at the very sound of the name. Germany's reaction during these years was no exception to this rule. There, too, at the mention of Zola's name every one thought of *L'Assommoir* and *Nana,* these brutal portrayals of social vice, the most talked of and abused novels of the day.

Zola had written other novels before these but it was not until after 1877, the year in which *L'Assommoir* appeared, that the full meaning of his theory became apparent. The earliest German articles merely list him as one among many, name him among authors who are now known only to literary history. This appears from the very titles of the articles.[1] There was no appreciation of Zola's outstanding qualities. At most his Rougon-Macquart series was discussed as a whole.[2] The scene changed however with the publication of the two novels we have mentioned. With them came the realization that Zola was a man to be reckoned with, a man dangerous for his artistic power as

[1] V—l, "Neue französische Romane," *Mag.*, 1875, p. 618; Honegger, "Die französische Kulturbewegung in Literatur und Kunst seit dem zweiten Kaiserreich," *ALC,* 1877, p. 75; G. H., "Der moderne französische Roman," *G.*, X, 312.

[2] D'Abrest, "Les Rougon-Macquart par Émile Zola," *G.*, XI, 105.

well as his theory. The number of articles increased from one in 1875 and 1876, four in 1877, and three in 1878, to eleven in 1879 and twenty in 1880. Zola became a figure of leading importance and interest, a front-page figure. No work on Paris, if it touched on literature, was complete without its Zola-essay.[3] From 1880 on, the criticism of Zola's latest novel by the leading German critics was a matter of course, and leading journals gave as much space to him as to important events of the day.

The German Zola-literature of that day is largely periodical. It numbers but one collection of critical essays, Julian Schmidt's excellent *Portraits aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert.*[4] Eduard Engel alone, in two volumes of literary history, attempted to give a critical evaluation of Zola's place in French literature.[5] There are the travel-descriptions of Paris which we have already mentioned that devote chapters to Zola, but these are journalistic in tone, and in some cases merely collections of articles previously published in newspapers and journals. Since an absolutely exhaustive bibliography is obviously impossible, any study of Zola's reception by German criticism must rest on a selection. In making such a selection for the present investigation care has been taken to include a sufficient cross-section of the material as a whole, and also to bring within the range of the inquiry all criticism which shows genuine merit and which has demonstrated itself as influential in the literary life of its time. Of the journals utilized for the present study the *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes* leads the rest in the interest taken in Zola and

[3] E.g. Nordau, *Paris unter der dritten Republik;* Kalisch, *Pariser Leben;* Schmidt-Weissenfels, *Portraits aus Frankreich;* Zolling, *Reise um die Pariser Welt.*

[4] Berlin, 1878.

[5] *Geschichte der französischen Literatur,* Leipzig, 1883; *Psychologie der französischen Literatur,* Wien, 1884.

in the fairness of its attitude. It was the first journal to discuss Zola. Eduard Engel, its editor, a personal friend of Zola, was always a fair critic, and ensured the journal's interest and open-mindedness. On the other hand, the *Gegenwart* criticized Zola continuously through the pen of its editor, Theophil Zolling, author and critic; while Zola's most bitter adversary, Rudolf von Gottschall, poet and critic, with two critical organs, *Unsere Zeit* and *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,* at his command, never let slip an opportunity to strike at Naturalism and its most important exponent. Paul Lindau, author of several novels dealing with Berlin life and one of the most popular, though not most important, critics of the day, countered in *Nord und Süd* nearly every one of Zola's novels with a lengthy and conscientious but polemical review. The same journal published one of the most painstaking studies to be found in the period, Ludwig Pfau's thorough, though hostile, analysis of Zola's theory and work.[6] We have not space here to characterize the lesser critics nor to discuss in detail the other less important journals that served the anti-Zola cause loyally and conscientiously.

There is a decided unanimity in the material written concerning Zola in this period, for the critics agree in denouncing Zola's theory and practice, and usually agree on the reasons for their denunciations. This uniformity makes it possible for us to discuss the material under two main headings: morality and esthetics. It is due partially to the fact that Zola's radical theory was colliding with a clearly defined, homogeneous, and fully organized body of esthetic theory with which all the critics were in thorough agreement. Possibly the large body of French criticism of Zola which the German critics knew, and in some cases

[6] XIII, 32.

utilized, may be another explanation of the unanimity of the criticism. There is no growth of ideas in this period. What was said in 1875 was repeated in 1885.

This early period in the German reception of Zola has never received the thorough treatment that it deserves as the training school of the younger critics. One of the fullest descriptions of the early reception is to be found in Albert Soergel's *Dichter und Dichtung der Zeit.*[7] Soergel writes:[8]

> Who was this strange Frenchman about whom only a journal like the *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes,* excellently edited by Eduard Engel, wrote seriously, before whom, otherwise, respectability used to cross itself? The widely read *Gartenlaube* called him a filthy fellow [Schmutzfink], Rudolf von Gottschall, the little Gottsched of 1880, called him a "brusk and uneducated esthetic writer." A German journalist reported that Zola was a perfect scoundrel, for was not his sole company the human refuse that he portrayed so lovingly in his novels; and that excellent gauge of public opinion, the edition of Meyer's *Konversationslexikon* for 1878, wrote indignantly that Zola gained laurels of a peculiar sort, for "he is a realist of the purest water, if this expression be justified for a type of production which hunts out with special favor the most pessimistic and dirtiest, yes most repellent situations, in order to impress the reader through the medium of the disgusted senses."

Soergel's summary of the critical opinion is in the main just, and we shall have opportunity to point out that he does not overstate the harshness of the abuse heaped on Zola. He leaves the impression, however, that this abuse is all that can be found. In the early part of this decade the criticism does usually warrant his description. However, his statement, that it failed to treat Zola 'seriously,' grows increasingly less applicable as Zola's power and importance be-

[7] Leipzig, 1928.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

came plain with *L'Assommoir* and *Nana*. For one-sided and often unjust, certainly unsympathetic though the criticism be, the attacks on Zola, after his importance was fully realized, plunged to the very depths of the questions under discussion. The German critics ransacked the esthetic arsenal for weapons with which to repel the dangerous foe. There was much that did not deserve the name of criticism, much that sinned against good manners in criticism, but Zola could not complain that Pfau, Zolling, and Lindau were not serious and earnest in treating his works.

M. G. Conrad describes the period in much the same terms as Soergel.[9] It is to him a period of petty, insulting abuse. There was, he says, no factual criticism. But the period was more than this. There is a body of serious criticism which gives the study of this decade a real importance, and from which we can gain not only a clear picture of what the period believed esthetically valid, but also a new understanding of the following period of Zola-criticism. The better critics (Gustav Wacht, Rudolf von Gottschall and one or two others may well deserve Conrad's words) were, according to their lights, factual and applied to the new literary phenomenon presented by Zola, to the best of their ability, the rules which they considered conscientiously the best. The oftentimes striking poverty and inadequacy of the results is not due to a lack of conscientious treatment but to their attempt to apply critical rules to a phenomenon which was a negation of these rules. The resulting judgments in their inability to grasp the meaning of Zola's work often deserve Conrad's denunciation.

This defense of the early critics is not intended to deny that violent, unnecessary, and even vicious polemic terms were applied to Zola. Such a denial would be as incorrect as to say there was nothing to be found but such

[9] *Émile Zola*, Berlin, 1906, p. 31.

terms. Engel could have added to his statement that "there is at present a literal plot of hypocrisy in respect to Zola"[10] the further statement that there was a storm of unnecessary abuse. The *Gartenlaube* with its 'Schmutzfink' does not exhaust the abuse that might be quoted, nor does it take the palm for violence. Naturalism was called, among other things, 'pig-literature' (Ferkel-literatur).[11] No one of the magazine critics whom we have studied went as far as the journalist of whom Soergel speaks; indeed nearly all the critics hurry to assure their readers that, in spite of his novels, Zola is a good citizen and a good husband.[12] The opprobrium spared neither the works, the man, nor his motives. The following quotations will serve to show that there is much justification for Conrad's and Soergel's descriptions.

"I make the assertion that it is impossible to read a single page [of *L'Assommoir*] aloud before respectable people."[13] "In reading Zola's works esthetics must hold a handkerchief to its nose."[14] "One asks how such a shameful work could go through 62 editions."[15] "One does not know how to take up this work critically without dirtying his fingers."[16] "In other places [in *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*] the author wallows, and the reader with him, in the vilest muck; one shuts the book angrily and asks himself whether he bought the book in broad daylight

[10] *Psychologie der französischen Literatur*, p. 297.

[11] D'Abrest, "Das französische Theater im letzten Jahrhundert," *UZ*, 1883, p. 919.

[12] E.g. J. Schmidt, *Portraits aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 382.

[13] D'Abrest, "Les Rougon-Macquart par Émile Zola," *G.*, XI, 105.

[14] L.D., "L'Assommoir," *Mag.*, XCI–XCII, 156.

[15] Wacht, "Émile Zola und der literarische Nihilismus," *ALC*, IV, 121.

[16] Gottschall, "Ein französischer Sensationsroman," *UZ*, 1880, p. 661.

in the almost academic shop of M. Charpentier or whether it belongs in the category of those productions of the printer's art which some shady individual offers in some café corner as 'highly piquant'." [17] "*La Joie de Vivre* is an olla-podrida of blood, mucus, and stomach secretions." [18] The whole Rougon-Macquart series deals, according to Gottschall, "with lust in its basest form." [19] *L'Assommoir* is "the heaping up of filth perfumed with the smell of liquor and the fumes of the laundry." [20]

Naturalism as a literary school fared no whit better than the individual novels. "Zola takes pictures in insane asylums, grog-shops, and on the sidewalks of Paris, he touches them up with the brush of vulgarity." [21] "One could translate the word naturalism into German with many expressions and not have to rise above the word filth." [22] Naturalism is "a dogma like any other, only sluttish and vulgar." [23] "The naturalists bear a flag on the face of which is to be read 'War on Idealism.' On the reverse side of this standard of the literature of the future are three figures, a prostitute arm in arm with a lunatic and a drunkard." [24] Naturalism "consists chiefly in the exact photographic reproduction of the most repulsive and disgusting realities of nature." [25]

Nor was the man spared. Gustav Wacht found him unusual even among autodidacts, for "not one [save Zola]

[17] See n. 13.

[18] Amyntor, "Zur Orientierung über den Zolaismus," *Mag.*, CV, 339.

[19] See n. 16.

[20] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 62.

[21] See n. 15.

[22] Schmidt-Weissenfels, *Portraits aus Frankreich*, p. 223.

[23] See n. 15.

[24] See n. 15.

[25] Kalisch, *Pariser Leben*, p. 168.

. . . has aimed to appear before his contemporaries in a dirty workingman's smock, a bottle of gin in his hand, proud of the evil odor that surrounds him." [26] Zola's place, according to Paul Lindau, is with Clauren, for both are 'Gassenwirte.' [27] Gottschall found Zola's predecessors in the obscure literature (Winkelliteratur) of all ages.[28] The man Zola was no more sympathetic to these critics than his theory. J. Zadeck gives expression to this: [29]

> Zola's personality is calculated to repel. Serious and harsh and of inexorable logic, sharp to the point of narrow-mindedness . . . he lacks just those qualities which might soften the harshness of his portrayals and reconcile to his incisive realism the reader who, used to softer diet, is offended by them.

Especially in Zola's criticism did the German critics find an expression of his brutal, violent nature. Gottschall, as we saw, spoke of his esthetic writings in this tone. The manner in which Zola handled his contemporaries in his critical writings was interpreted by Wacht as intentional, as an appeal to popular attention: "Zola [and Villemessant] are 'climbers' of the purest water. Zola attracted attention by inconsiderate, pitiless attack [Zerreissen], a means of making a name which, though vulgar and cheap, is often used in this day and age." [30] Others called his criticism brutal and inconsiderate.[31] Another motive, to which was ascribed his attack on his fellow authors, was envy and jealousy of those who stood in his way, e.g. Vic-

[26] See n. 15.

[27] "Pot-Bouille," *NuS*, XXI, 389.

[28] "Nana," *BLU*, 1880, p. 257.

[29] "Émile Zola," *NZ*, 1883, p. 496.

[30] "Émile Zola und der literarische Nihilismus," *ALC*, IV, 121.

[31] Heller, "Émile Zola, Le Roman Expérimental," *Mag.*, XCVIII, 675.

tor Hugo.[32] He was also called egocentric and lacking in modesty.[33]

While nearly all the critics had only words of praise for Zola's power of observation and narration, for his logic and his power of analysis, and admitted his exceptional talent, few were ready to accept him as a genius. The critics did not fail to note that Zola was an autodidact, having acquired most of his knowledge (especially of science) through his own undirected study. This, they asserted, explained many traits in his work. Thus the descriptions of medical details in *La Joie de Vivre* were characteristic of a man who, knowing little of a subject, is proud of the little he does know and so parades his knowledge before the world.[34] "Zola is an autodidact," wrote Gottschall, "and shows the presumption, stubbornness, and, above all, the half-culture of most self-made men." [35]

Still another trait stressed was Zola's supposed misanthropy. This the critics deduced partly from his novels and took partly from descriptions of Zola by French critics. This conception of the man caused them to recognize him in certain characters in his own novels, such as Faujas in *La Conquête de Plassans* and Florent in *Le Ventre de Paris*.[36] Closely related to this is the emphasis they put on his lack of humor, for "one of the things that give his characters an oppressive and unrefreshing quality is the fact that they are nowhere touched by a ray of a gay

[32] Heller, "Émile Zola und die naturalistische Schule," *Mag.*, XCVI, 763.

[33] Gottschall, "Le Roman Expérimental," *BLU*, 1880, p. 785; Kalisch, *Pariser Leben*, p. 168.

[34] Lindau, "Die neuesten Romane von Daudet und Zola," *NuS*, XXX, 371.

[35] See n. 33.

[36] Zolling, *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 109.

philosophy. Zola lacks humor, esprit, grace.'' [37] What few traces of humor they did find they called ''repellent and bitter.'' [38]

Even though many of the critics believed in Zola's basic moral purpose, his character appeared to them cynical and pessimistic. He seemed to have a predilection for the ugly, they thought. Though some voices, otherwise hostile, were raised in protest against the accusation that Zola saw only the ugly,[39] the consensus of opinion held that there were no good characters in his novels, no high motives and no beauty in life as he saw it. This supposed trait in his nature Gottschall called his cynicism, ''the cynical lingering over repellent details.'' [40] Zola was said to 'gloat' over the horrible and filthy,[41] and according to Paul Lindau had ''a fear of what is pleasant.'' [42] ''The more deeply one admires the power of the artist,'' wrote Julian Schmidt, ''the more painfully does it affect one to see this power directed solely toward what is ugly.'' [43] Zola, then, as seen by these critics, was a man who had an almost inhuman leaning toward that which is commonly avoided and shunned, a depraved taste. He seemed to them a cold observer who watched unmoved the horrors and ugliness of life, shutting his eyes to the happier sides of existence.[44]

The tremendous popularity of his novels not only amazed and irritated the critics, but, in some cases, drew their dis-

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[38] Lindau, ''Das neueste Werk des Naturalismus,'' *NuS*, XXI, 389.

[39] Honegger, ''Die französische Kulturbewegung in Literatur und Kunst seit dem II. Kaiserreich,'' *ALC*, 1877, p. 75.

[40] ''Nana,'' *BLU*, 1880, p. 257.

[41] Pfau, ''Emile Zola,'' *NuS*, XIII, 63.

[42] See n. 38.

[43] J. Schmidt, *Portraits aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 425.

[44] Heller, ''Émile Zola und die naturalistische Schule,'' *Mag.*, XCVI, 763.

cussion and attack.[45] There was no belief that literary merit was the chief factor, nor that Zola would have a lasting place in the world's literature. The sensational subject matter and the government's prosecution of certain of the novels explained, they thought, why the public read Zola's work so greedily.[46] And though this was sufficient reason, there was also the appeal to the readers' lowest instincts. The second factor, "Zola's portrayal of brutal and sensual situations," was a most important one.[47] Gottschall wrote of *Nana:* "Its success is not due to its literary importance but to the teasing curiosity, the haut-goût of an epicurean public."[48] And Pfau stated the case even more forcefully when he wrote that it was "that unhealthy curiosity for the awful and obscene which draws the mob to scaffolds and society women to cocottes' ball-rooms, that uncanny impulse toward the abyss, which brings readers to this muse which is more soiled by filth than blood."[49] Added proof of this interpretation they found in the fact that certain volumes, where these sensational and sensual elements were lacking, fell far below the others in popularity and sales.[50]

Before turning to the final analysis of the criticism, it will be well to point out the relation of Zola's individual novels to this early criticism. Of importance to our study are *La Fortune des Rougons,* 1871; *La Curée,* 1872; *Le Ventre de Paris,* 1873; *La Conquête de Plassans,* 1874; *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret,* 1875; *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon,* 1876. Of far greater importance are *L'Assommoir,* 1877; *Nana,* 1880; *Pot-Bouille,* 1882; *Au Bonheur des Dames,* 1883; and *La Joie de Vivre,* 1884, as representa-

[45] See n. 40.

[46] D'Abrest, "Les Rougon-Macquart par Émile Zola," *G.*, XI, 105.

[47] L.D., "L'Assommoir," *Mag.*, XCI–XCII, p. 156.

[48] See n. 40.

[49] "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 32.

[50] See n. 38.

tive of Zola's more powerful naturalistic style. If we examine the critical material in its relation to these novels we find that each one brought to the critics' attention some special question. The novels of the first group listed above, while awaking less interest, played their part in the discussion, *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret* receiving more attention than any other single volume of the group. The critics considered this novel one of the most bizarre of the early works, and pointed out that it showed Zola's stylistic weaknesses and the short-comings of his method of studying his subject.[51] In the criticism of *La Fortune des Rougons* and *La Curée* special attention was paid to the political and historical phases of the Rougon-Macquart series.

In the case of the second group, each novel warrants special discussion. *L'Assommoir* attracted the critics' attention especially to Zola's attitude toward the working-class, the book being considered a libel on this class. The major question brought to the fore by the novel, however, was the use of argot, a question which we shall discuss in detail later. Needless to say, this novel also added plentiful fuel to the fire of discussion of Zola's immorality and pessimism. *Nana* centered the critics' attention on the question of sex and sensuality in Zola's work. The battle raged here even more hotly than over the preceding novel. *Pot-Bouille* focussed their attention on the true meaning of realism, and made them ask whether it was truly realistic to portray only the evil sides of life. Reviews of the novel stressed Zola's pessimism and his supposed predilection for the unpleasant.

As if to answer this charge, the next novel, *Au Bonheur des Dames,* appeared with a virtuous heroine and a hero, Octave Mouret, who had improved since his appearance in

[51] E.g., his use of florists' catalogues for the descriptions of the plants in Le Paradou.

Pot-Bouille. A storm of scepticism as to the genuineness of this change of front greeted the novel. The charge that Zola could not portray a good character, as Lindau had asserted,[52] could no longer be made.[53] After the withdrawal of this charge, the critics could turn their attention to the descriptions which occupy a large part of the novel, to the "white symphony" and the other detailed descriptions. With the publication of *La Joie de Vivre* gloom settled once more, for Zola, in spite of the portrayal of another virtuous heroine, had fallen from grace, and was again devoting himself to the evils of life. The novel gave two questions for discussion, the use of pathology in literature, and Zola's philosophical ideas, which were mocked or misunderstood. The book was considered an example of his misanthropic pessimism.

In spite of the bitterness of much of the criticism and its complete hostility, there appeared in translation, in various journals, several of Zola's essays and stories.[54] The first translations of Zola's novels into German appeared in these years, starting with Willibald Koenig's rendering of *L'Assommoir* in 1880. By the end of the year 1885 some twenty-eight translations had been published, including all the Rougon-Macquart novels then in print and many of the lesser works. *L'Assommoir* and *Nana* each came out in German in two editions. The latter volume, *Pot-Bouille,* and *Au Bonheur des Dames* were published in German in the year of their French publication.[55]

[52] See n. 38.

[53] Several reviews appeared entitled "Ein tugendhafter Roman." See, e.g., Engel, *Mag.*, CIII, 200.

[54] See Bibliography.

[55] See: M. G. Conrad, *Émile Zola,* Berlin, 1906, Bibliography. For titles not given by Conrad, see: "Zola im deutschen Buchhandel. Verzeichnis aller seiner Schriften sowie aller Bücher über ihn," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel,* XVI, 2, 1898.

2. The Criticism of Zola's Morality

The question of Zola's morality, or immorality, played an important part in the criticism between 1875 and 1885. Some of the critics categorically denied his basic moral purpose in depicting such social evils as those described in *L'Assommoir* and *Nana.* Gustav Wacht, one of the lesser critics, wrote of the former volume: "When Zola presents the city of Paris to our view, when he portrays the various corrupt social strata, he does so with no moral back-ground. Nay, he delights in the reproduction of the squabbles of sluttish women, the brawls of drunken men, of the whole misery of poverty and debauchery. This is not done to excite disgust or to help ameliorate—oh, no! Over that at which the reader feels a horrible disgust the author, like a Satan, laughs his mocking laugh, and rubs his dirty hands."[56] E. Schmidt-Weissenfels considered Zola "the morally most reprehensible, because objectively most vulgar" of the modern French novelists.[57] Eduard Engel, on the other hand, felt that an influence for good in literature and life would result from the novels.[58] Even Rudolf von Gottschall admitted grudgingly that, at least, Zola did not glorify vice and bestiality.[59] Some of the critics went to the opposite extreme—to be sure, for esthetic reasons—and found that Zola sinned against the principles of realism by writing from the standpoint of what ought to be instead of what is.[60]

If some of the critics, then, admit the basic moral purpose of Zola's novels, whence comes the ever recurrent

[56] "Émile Zola und der literarische Nihilismus," *ALC*, IV, 121.

[57] *Portraits aus Frankreich*, p. 233.

[58] "Nana von Zola," *Mag.*, XCVI, 667.

[59] "Nana," *BLU*, 1880, p. 257.

[60] For example, K. Hillebrand, "Vom alten und vom neuen Roman," *D.R.*, XXXVIII, 425.

charge of immorality which we meet in nearly every review? The critics believed that the means and the method, the language Zola used, and his absolute frankness in stating facts as well as his accumulation of a large amount of unexpurgated material to illustrate the evil under consideration, were immoral and dangerous. While Zola might not write thus because he had a depraved taste for such things, or because he wanted to sell his novels, his language and his massing of sensual details disregarded the established codes of decency and put before his readers things which they should not know. This charge was aimed especially at his use of Parisian argot, at his frankness in treating bodily and sex details, and his insistence on them.

The criticism of Zola's language centered, as we have said, upon *L'Assommoir,* for it was in this novel that Zola for the first time employed the language of the social class he was portraying, and, what was worse, without expurgating the vocabulary. The critics recognized that this was one of his boldest departures from literary tradition; at least he went farther than any one before had ever dared to go. Zola's assertion, in the preface of the novel, that this use of argot had philological value, brought a storm of scorn and abuse upon his head.[61] There is not a review of the novel which does not discuss the language employed. "The worst in the book is not the content but the way it is presented."[62] *Une Page d'Amour,* the next novel in the series, was hailed with relief, since it is free of those vulgar expressions which "whether the rabble use them or not have no right in the language of the educated or in art."[63] The language of *L'Assommoir* alone makes it impossible "to read a page aloud to respectable peo-

[61] D'Abrest, "Les Rougon-Macquart par Émile Zola," *G.,* XI, 105.
[62] L.D., "L'Assommoir," *Mag.,* XCI–XCII, 156.
[63] Chuquet, "Une Page d'Amour," *Mag.,* XCIII, 349.

ple."[64] "While reading, one blushes before the very book."[65] Gustav Wacht wrote, "One could swear that the author had taken courses at these universities [saloons, etc.] and that he could compete with the lowest vagabond of the Barrière d'Amérique or the lowest harlot of the Reine Blanche ball."[66] Lindau saw a sort of esthetic perversion in Zola's use of such language, as if he chose the ugly expression whenever there was a choice between the ugly and the beautiful.[67] Only a few critics admitted that there was any justification at all for this language and even these thought that Zola showed a lack of good taste.[68]

Zola believed that the evils he described could only be cured by knowing that they existed and what their causes and effects were. This belief coupled with his esthetic credo, that art must reproduce life exactly, resulted in his complete frankness which so offended the critics' moral and esthetic feelings. The older critics held that there were things which must not be said under any circumstances. Zola seemed to accept the statement that 'naturalia non turpia,' whereas his critics accepted it only with decided limitations. Zola said everything, knew no limits to what he might say, and hence, to his critics' way of thinking, seemed immoral. As Gottschall put it: "If Zola wrote more discreetly, such a subject matter, little charm as it has for the great reading-public and little as we like to follow him into the sphere of social vice, would bring out the moral tendency more plainly; we would grant the author absolution because of his Juvenalian pathos. . . ."[69]

[64] See n. 61.

[65] See n. 56.

[66] See n. 61.

[67] "Das neueste Werk des Naturalismus," *NuS*, XXI, 389.

[68] *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 113.

[69] See n. 59.

Paul Lindau, however, furnishes the best example of the attack on Zola's frankness in discussing that which is usually tabooed. In *La Joie de Vivre* Pauline, the heroine, and Louise, spoiled product of a boarding-school, meet children from the nearby fishing village, and Pauline questions them about their parents, to whom she has often given help. The children disclose with utter frankness the depths of depravity to which their parents have sunk. Pauline listens without embarrassment, while the softer Louise blushes and is shocked. It is evident that Zola prefers Pauline's realistic acceptance of fact and her desire to help ameliorate conditions. No so Lindau!

> As a matter of fact, Louise is right. It is a miserable untruth that 'naturalia non turpia.' There are natural things which are disgusting. There are things which one thinks but must not say. . . . It is a truth that cannot be overthrown that things which are equal before nature are differently judged and treated by society. . . . Culture has established hard and fast ordinances which cannot be overthrown. . . . There are rules which stand just as firmly as the rules of grammar. . . . Zola writes like an Indian for Indians.[70]

Here we have one of the fundamental differences which made it impossible for Zola and these critics to meet on common ground.

The critics found fault as well with the insistent presentation of ugly and sensual details. Repeatedly Zola was charged with loving what was evil and fearing what was good.[71] The cause of this criticism was the prominence and space allotted the ugly details in his novels, and although Zola might adduce the moral purpose of the novels as justification, the critics felt that here, too, Zola had overstepped the bounds of what was permissible and become a menace

[70] "Die neuesten Romane von Daudet und Zola," *NuS*, XXX, 371.

[71] See n. 67.

to the reader. His insistence on portraying vice on a large scale and his use of glaring colors in the portrayal caused some of the critics to class him with the leading writers of indecent literature. From another angle, Moritz Carrière pointed out that the novels were evil because they poisoned youth with a too pessimistic picture of reality.[72] Lindau believed that Zola himself had been thus poisoned, until he could no longer write about the good and beautiful convincingly.[73]

3. The Criticism of Zola's Esthetics

"Each novel confirms us more and more in the opinion that this naturalism is false through and through, false in its starting-point, false in its direction, false in its goal."[74] "It would be an injury to all literature if the mistaken principles which Zola represents . . . should be victorious."[75] When we read such statements, we can begin to realize the bitterness of the attack on Zola's theory. It is fair to say that the interest in the questions of esthetics was wider, and the discussion deeper and more important than the discussion of Zola's morality. The two are closely related, however; for, in the critics' opinion, Zola's use of argot was not only immoral, it was unesthetic; his ugly accumulation of details was not only unesthetic, it was immoral. The whole battle over esthetic questions centered in Zola's transgression of certain rules which the critics considered firmly established.

They were at variance with Zola as to the basic nature of esthetics. They held a hard and fast theory of esthetics,

[72] "Verirrungen und Abwege," *D.Rev.*, IX, 4, p. 330. See Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 30.

[73] See n. 67.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Lemmermayer, "Émile Zola in deutscher Sprache," *ALC*, VIII, 145.

whereas Zola accepted none. They held that the very same esthetic laws applied to Zola as had to Homer; Zola, that, though Homer's epics may have naturalistic features, he, Zola, could only be interpreted by new principles which had arisen from the age and land in which he wrote. The critics were continually applying a yardstick of theory. They were trained in formal esthetics and were absolutists whose principles of art were shut off by water-tight compartments from the new scientific principles. Zola was a relativist in esthetics, and tried to combine esthetics and science.

As we study Zola's critical essays, it soon strikes us that one of the major premises of his theory was that art has grown and changed from age to age and has suffered a process of evolution which makes it impossible to judge a work of art by a set formula. It must be studied and interpreted in the light of its age and environment. The experimental, scientific method must be applied here as elsewhere. His critics held the opposite theory. It was this basic difference that made Gottschall, for example, call Zola a "brusk and uneducated esthetic writer" [76] or made Pfau speak of his "esthetic inadequacy" and say that "his criticism is characterized more by coarseness than esthetic understanding." [77] The critics found in this lack a reason for the use of too great detail, especially ugly detail. It was because Zola lacked "the limiting boundaries of the esthetics of the ugly." [78]

A second point must be kept in mind, that Zola sought merely a better understanding of human nature in its relation to society. His goal was the truth; his ideal, to find

[76] "Le Roman Expérimental," *BLU*, 1880, p. 785.

[77] "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 33 and 67.

[78] Gottschall, "Ein französischer Sensationsroman," *UZ*, 1880, p. 661.

out what we do not yet know. The belief that art has as its aim beauty fares ill in such a theory. The critics, who defined a work of art as "a faithful copy of life transfigured by beauty," [79] could not accept Zola's attitude. They early saw that Zola, "as an enemy of all cults, wishes to see the cult of beauty done away with." [80] "From an esthetic standpoint," they believed, "one will see in his realistic portrayal of merely animal, nay bestial love, and of other truly disgusting things . . . a gross transgression of the law of the beautiful." [81] The critics did not deny that the ugly may be used as a contrast. Their criticism was that Zola used the ugly too frequently and without giving it the contrast of the beautiful. That which was ugly might be used to throw the beautiful more strongly into relief, never as an end in itself. It was from this standpoint that G. v. Amyntor criticised the description of the death of the dog, Mathieu, in *La Joie de Vivre*.[82]

It is not hard to see that these critics could not accept Zola's purpose as valid. It was social, theirs was esthetic. His novels aimed to better society; they thought that a novel should raise the reader above the drabness of everyday life. The best illustration of this point is to be found in the lines of the poet Wilhelm Jensen, himself a product of the literary era we are discussing: [83]

Mühvoll schreitet der Fuss auf den staubigen Strassen des Lebens,
Aber zum Fluge beschwingt hebe die Kunst ihn empor!
Dem nicht danken wir Trost und die Heilkraft edleren Aufschwungs,

[79] Aragon, "Eine Erklärung des Herrn Zola und eine Gegenerklärung des gesunden Menschenverstands," *NZ*, III, 116.

[80] Heller, "Émile Zola und die naturalistische Schule," *Mag.*, XCVI, 763.

[81] See n. 78.

[82] "Zur Orientierung über den Zolaismus," *Mag.*, CV, 339.

[83] "Kunst und Naturalismus," *G.*, XVII, 262.

Der uns des Niedrigen Bild treu vor den Sinnen entrollt;
Der uns Gestalten erzeugt, die mit Ekel das Auge zurückstösst,
Wenn es im Schmutz ihres Seins sie auf der Gasse betrifft;
Der mit Misslaut das Ohr und Abscheugefühlen die Brust füllt
Und aus der Welt ein Spital eiternder Wunden uns schafft.
Hässliches bietet sich dar, doch es nütze zum Mittel der Kunst nur
Dass in verklärterem Licht ihm sich die Schönheit enthebt.
Sie nur leuchtet als Ziel, und es kündet den Werth einer Schöpfung
Einzig der höhere Geist, der das Gemeine besiegt.
Nicht der Natur entfremdet damit sich die Kunst, denn das Vorbild
Ihrer Gestaltungen bleibt edlere Menschennatur.
Mag sie Erhab'nes zum Sieg oder mag sie's zum Untergang leiten,
Heiligen Schauer entströmt immer ihr göttlicher Hauch.
Das ist ihr Merkmal allein und der Prüfstein nur ihres Goldwerts,
Ob sie mit Glück oder Gram höher die Brust dir geschwellt;
Ob im Gemüte sie dir, wie der Atem des Windes vom Meergrund,
Schlummernde Perlen entschliesst, Wunder der Seele erregt.
Buhlen im Gassengedräng' um den jauchzenden Beifall des Pöbels,
Welcher sich selber beklatscht, lass den Entweiher der Kunst.
Schwellen die Gossen auch an, es enthebt sich den schlammigen Wassern,
Ewigen Sieges gewiss, Anadyomene stets.

Closely related to Zola's refusal to limit the sphere allotted to the ugly in his novels is another point which the critics repeatedly stressed. Is Zola's reproduction of the ugly in life, and (to their minds) only this, any more realistic than the portrayal of only the good and beautiful? In other words, is Zola in *L'Assommoir* (all workers are not so bad) or in *Pot-Bouille* (all bourgeoisie are not so corrupt) giving us a realistic picture of these classes? Are there nowhere in the world beautiful nature, happy love, high ideals, moral struggles and victories? The almost unanimous answer of the critics to this question was, in

the words of one of them: "Only he deserves the name of realist who observes, without preconceived opinions, most sharply, not only the faults but also the distinguished phenomena which are revealed in social intercourse. . . ." [84] From the very beginning the critics realized that Zola transgressed his own theory by emphasizing one side of existence. "We grant the vulgar the wide sphere which it occupies in reality but is the high, the noble, the pure, the beautiful any less real?" [85] Not only of his portrayal of life in general was it true, according to his critics, that Zola neglected much of reality and so distorted his picture, but also of his historical conception of the Second Empire, which was not as bad as he pictured it in *La Fortune des Rougons* and *La Curée*.[86] Individual characters suffered, they thought, the same distortion at his hands, for example, the character of Muffat in *Nana* "who is so overloaded with realism as to be a very monster of exaggerated imagination." [87]

From the philosophical angle Ludwig Pfau discussed in great detail another phase of this question of reality.[88] Of Zola's two major errors, he wrote, the confusion of reality and truth (Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit) was the first. Reality is nothing and proves nothing. Truth, on the other hand,

> is nothing but the synthesis of a number of truths, i.e., the great reality which obeys natural laws as contrasted with the little fortuitous reality. . . . Naturalism is, therefore, far from being the portrayal of reality, it is only the childish, amateurish conception of it, without judgment.[89]

[84] G.H., "Der moderne französische Roman," *G.*, X, 312.
[85] Rodenberg, "Der Verfasser des Assommoir," *D. R.*, XX, 480.
[86] Zolling, *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 115.
[87] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 62.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[89] *Ibid.*

The realities which Zola presents as truth are like the photographs of a man; each is a phase, but no one of them gives the personality, the truth of the man, which only a portrait by a great artist can give. Art "must present truth, the everlasting real existence, not the transitory external phenomena of reality." [90] And, too, must not realism portray the normal human being and not the pathological exception, if it is to reproduce life? "What do these characters prove who, burdened with fixed ideas and shut within their madness by heredity, are outside all universal human truth?" [91]

If, then, the critics disagreed with Zola as to the true meaning of realism, there was no less disagreement over the manner in which reality should be treated in a literary work. Should a work of art portray a mere section of life, without choice and without arrangement, without genuine beginning and end? May an author describe his hero's life from an unimportant starting point to an unimportant close, a mere quotation torn out of the cosmic context? Zola's frequent use of the word 'lambeau' [92] to describe the subject matter of the 'experimental novel' shows us he believed that the artist should do exactly this. There was to be no arrangement save that of life itself. The critics could not agree that a novel ought to describe a geological stratum and neglect the landscape. "A work of art," wrote Gottschall,[93] "as an organic whole is foreign to him [Zola]; real life, nay a scrap of it, is to him sufficient for a novel, which, however, is really nothing but a study." To Julian Schmidt each volume of the Rougon-Macquart series is a 'Novelle,' the series as a whole a

[90] M. Carrière, "Verirrungen und Abwege," *D.Rev.*, IX, 4, p. 330.
[91] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 67.
[92] Zola, *Le Roman Expérimental*, Paris, 1923, p. 208.
[93] "Le Roman Expérimental," *BLU*, 1880, p. 785.

'Kulturroman.'[94] Interesting in this connection is Gottschall's criticism of *Au Bonheur des Dames* which, he said, is no 'lambeau' such as Zola demands, since "it has an artistic climax and ending, both of which are such as German esthetics demands and such as suit German taste."[95]

The critics, however, thought for the most part that Zola's novels did not end as novels should end. They missed the grand finale and the falling curtain. This lack of ending they noted especially in *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon,* which "stops without ending."[96] Of the early novels of the series *La Conquête de Plassans,* with the final conflagration in which Faujas perishes, was a pleasant exception to the rule and, therefore, suited them best.[97] It alone seemed to have the climax a novel should have; and, since Faujas is the 'villain' of the story, his death was to them "a punishment which completely satisfies one's sense of justice."[98] Zola's stand on the question of 'poetic justice' diverged widely from theirs, both in theory and practice. "Where is the poetic justice [in *L'Assommoir*]?" asked Wacht, to whom it seemed that "Gervaise is too good to deserve so awful a fate, Lantier too wicked to escape terrible punishment, while Coupeau becomes a scoundrel through misfortunes which are due to no guilt on his part."[99] Pfau wrote that it is too much to expect us to wait until the twentieth volume of the series for the 'poetic justice' of the French defeat at Sedan which should punish the sins of the Empire.[100] The reader, according to an-

[94] *Portraits aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert,* p. 383.

[95] "Studien zur neuesten französischen Literatur," *UZ,* 1885, p. 823.

[96] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS,* XIII, 54.

[97] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] Wacht, "Emile Zola und die naturalistische Schule," *ALC,* IV, 121.

[100] See n. 96; p. 79.

other critic, is glad to drop one of Zola's novels because they all wound that "trust which is ineradicable in every human being in the divine justice, which makes us wish to see virtue glorified in a poetic work, even if in no external victory, at least in the perspective of the infinite and eternal." [101]

Although the critics did not discuss Zola's theory of the milieu at great length in this period, they unanimously condemned his long descriptions, which Zola defended as necessary for the portrayal of the influence of environment on character. Zola's defense was not accepted as valid, "for the task of the poet is not to show how a character arises but how it appears in the world of phenomena." [102] It was pointed out that the hero was lost in the maze of details, and his character blurred.[103] Repeatedly the critics called attention to the fact that "this powerful apparatus of description, for the most part superfluous, this unbalanced delight in an exaggerated heaping up of detail, stands in too vivid contrast to the scanty plot, which lacks all tense interest and wearies the most patient reader." [104] In reviews of *La Curée, Le Ventre de Paris, Au Bonheur des Dames,* and *La Joie de Vivre* the major part of the criticism is aimed at the over-long descriptions.

In the criticism of the descriptions we find many of the adjectives that were repeatedly applied to Zola: boring, pedantic, dull. "Ennui is the rock on which naturalism will shipwreck." [105] Zolling suggested that Zola is driven to intersperse sensual passages to spice the dullness of his

[101] Niemann, "Émile Zola," *Gr.*, 1883, p. 614.

[102] See n. 94; p. 384.

[103] K. Hillebrand, "Vom alten und vom neuen Roman," *D. R.*, XX, 480.

[104] Zolling, "Zolas neuer Roman," *G.*, XXIII, 185.

[105] Engel, "Eine tugendhafter Roman von Émile Zola," *Mag.*, CIII, 200.

descriptions.[106]. In allotting so much space to detail, Zola forgets that the master artist and stylist is shown by what he leaves unsaid, since a hint enkindles the imagination, whereas an all-inclusive description, leaving the imagination nothing to do, has the opposite effect.[107] The cause of Zola's over-emphasis on description is variously stated. Engel considered it his descriptive power; the adjective is his worst enemy.[108] Lindau considered it the pride of the autodidact in his scant knowledge.[109] Hellwigk ascribed it to Scribe's theory "little causes, great effects." [110]

Zola's theory of the relation of science and literature was one of his worst sins in the critics' eyes. He was Marsyas and certainly deserved flaying at the hands of angry Apollo.[111] When Zola prophesied the triumph of the scientific spirit on the stage, a critic wrote, "May this prophecy be fulfilled just as little as the prophecy of the end of the world." [112] The motives which caused Zola to adopt the theory are not accepted at his valuation. Pfau wrote that Zola had to seek a new watchword, since Balzac was the real father of realism, and had found it in his scientific theory which he exploited as advertisement. "The only thing," he continued, "that one can get from Zola's endless galimathias is that he does not know what he is talking about. For pages on end he thrashes the air with words that are so much Greek to him." [113] His theory was looked upon as "a little cloak to give his creations of

[106] *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 114.

[107] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 62.

[108] See n. 105.

[109] "Die neuesten Romane von Daudet und Zola," *NuS*, XXX, 371.

[110] "L'Assommoir als Drama," *Mag.*, XCV, 114.

[111] Aragon, "Eine Erklärung des Herrn Zola, etc.," *NZ*, 1885, p. 116.

[112] Hellwigk, "Zola als Dramatiker," *Mag.*, XCIV, 762.

[113] "Emile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 70.

filth and fire an aristocratic and scientific appearance."[114] The attack on the theory itself followed two main lines: Zola interpreted and applied the laws of heredity and evolution wrongly; and secondly, literature, as an art, and science are by nature antithetical.

The critics had no faith in Zola's knowledge of science and the "pseudo-learned" theories he had evolved.[115] His theory was

> a Darwinism gone mad which transposes the physiology of heredity into the phantasmagoria of romanticism, and imagines it is scientific realism when it chops up fine . . . inventing at will . . . the laws of evolution to fit the narrow haphazard of a family history, laws which can only be deduced from the perspective of thousands of generations and their crossings.[116]

It was pointed out that the hereditary influence of Adelaide, the ancestress of the family, could not be as great as Zola would have us believe, since the members of the family have married into other families and thus introduced new hereditary influences. Nature is less logical and cruel than Zola.[117] Zola was attempting the impossible in trying to portray the workings of heredity.[118]

It was also false, the critics believed, that literature should or could be a science. 'Experiment' in the scientifically valid sense of the word was impossible in literature. Zola's logic, when he tried to connect science and literature, was false; for while there are analogies between them, which he saw, analogy is not the same thing as equality, the equality which he deduced.[119] I shall give but one state-

[114] Amyntor, "Zur Orientierung über den Zolaismus," *Mag.*, CV, 339.

[115] Zolling, *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 116.

[116] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 35.

[117] See n. 115.

[118] See n. 94.

[119] Gottschall, "Le Roman Expérimental," *BLU*, 1880, p. 785.

ment of the case against the experiment: The concept 'novel' excludes the concept 'experiment' since the novel deals with what the poet imagines, the experiment with fact. Zola believes he has performed an experiment when he invents a nervous person and sets him in an invented situation and has him perform invented actions. A scientific experiment is a question asked of nature and answered by nature and not by the researcher. Zola asks the question of his imagination and the answer is from the same source. The facts gained by the experiment are objective, and we must accept them. Zola's answers are subjective, and no one can force us to accept their validity.[120] Another critic pointed out that, with the best intentions in the world of being objective, the individuality of the novelist must enter into his characters and destroy the validity of the experiment.[121]

More than this, science is analytic, art synthetic. The poet gives a synthesis deductively, the scientist an analysis inductively.[122] The critics believed that science is the "negation" of art, since it aims at a knowledge of the world and its causal connections, destroying the individual life to discover its laws; while art seeks to know (erkennen) the world and interpret it by comprehending the unity of individual life, eliminating the universal to grasp the individual more clearly. Science is progressive and collective; not so, art. Science works with reason, art with intuition (Anschauung). Science aims at conscious knowledge, art at unconscious.[123] In the critics' eyes Zola was guilty of confused thinking in trying to connect the two.

The critics attacked also Zola's 'scientific' methods of

120 Nordau, *Paris unter der dritten Republik,* p. 127.

121 Heller, "Le Roman Expérimental," *Mag.,* XCVIII, 675.

122 See n. 113.

123 Hillebrand, "Vom alten und vom neuen Roman," *D. R.,* XXXVIII, 425.

observing reality: his study of his subject in technical works, his theory that a writer should 'see' all that he describes; in other words, his replacing of imagination and intuition by reason and knowledge. The critics, believing that the psychology of literary creation was not the same as that of scientific research, contended that

> experience and observation, in the sense in which they are ordinarily used, are only in a limited sense conditions of poetic creation . . . conditions which consist rather in unconditioned [willkürlichen] inner experience and in an intuitional comprehension of the world. The divinely called poet will see all temporal things with the sight of divination.[124]

Zolling considered the novels that deal with 'Plassans,' where Zola spent his youth, better than those that deal with Paris, because in the former he is drawing on his memory and not, as in the latter, on his notes.[125] It was the lack of 'intuitional comprehension' and imagination in Zola, to the critics' minds, that caused them to compare him to a photographer. It was his attempt to reproduce the world exactly, with as little interference from the creator as possible, that made them say, "he does not create, he only copies, he is no artist in the same sense that a photographer or copyist is no artist."[126]

The major criticism of Zola's materialistic and fatalistic conception of life rested on esthetic, and not philosophical, grounds. His realism, they believed, was nothing but the crudest materialism.[127] "He creates characters which are merely physiological, bestial abstractions, the psychological

[124] Fulda, "Über den Wert der Beobachtung in der Poesie," *BLU*, 1884, p. 785.

[125] *Reise um die Pariser Welt*, p. 108.

[126] Lemmermayer, "Émile Zola in deutscher Sprache," *ALC*, VIII, 145.

[127] Gottschall, "Ein französischer Sensationsroman," *UZ*, 1880, p. 661.

element, the 'soul,' is always lacking."[128] "Zola wants to Darwinize the spirit—he treats the 'anima' as 'animal.'"[129] This resulted, they thought, in Zola's making beauty only sensuality, passion only desire, emotion only brutality.[130] They held that the materialistic conception of life was good only in so far as "it helped to an understanding of the psychological problem in question."[131] It is unesthetic because it shows no ethical struggle, only passive submission, and "where force and will cease, where the struggle of the elements appears only as a process of decay and decomposition, there is not a trace of an esthetic purpose."[132] To their minds, Zola's theory of heredity made his characters mere pawns of natural forces. His novels seemed to them modern 'fate-tragedies' through which the characters are moved by forces which they do not understand and cannot control.[133] Without freedom of the will, without the possibility of choice between good and evil, there can be no great characters, they said, and without great individuals there can be no great literature.[134]

4. Summary

The criticism of Zola's works from their first mention down to the rebellion of the younger critics around 1885 was, even in its most receptive representatives like Eduard Engel, bitterly hostile. Zola's German critics attacked especially the immorality and the esthetics of Zola's novels and theory and, not stopping with his works, gave a most

[128] Wacht, "Émile Zola und der literarische Nihilismus," *ALC*, IV, 121.

[129] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 66.

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[131] Anon., "Lust am Leben von Zola," *NZ*, 1884, p. 412.

[132] Pfau, "Émile Zola," *NuS*, XIII, 80.

[133] Chuquet, "Une Page d'Amour," *Mag.*, XCIII, 349.

[134] Engel, *Psychologie der französischen Literatur*, p. 307.

unfavorable picture of the man and his motives. Recognizing as they did in some cases his earnestness and in all cases his artistic power, they condemned both works and man. They pictured him as a brutal, egotistical, and envious critic, a 'climber' who was trying to fight his way into the lime-light without due regard for his colleagues. He sought also, they believed, to achieve popularity by sensual and sensational subjects and treatment. He was, moreover, in their eyes a bitter pessimist who saw in life only ugliness and evil into which he delved with inhuman delight, describing his findings in the crudest terms, unmoved and unsympathetic. There was in their picture of Zola no portrayal of human kindness, love, gentleness, grace or humor. Essentially untrained, he lacked culture and refinement and the nice taste that is part and parcel of these; he was a self-made man, a *nouveau riche* of the spirit, most of whose wealth was spurious. This was the image reflected in the mirror of the period.

The criticism of his work followed two lines of attack. The novels were morally reprehensible and esthetically impossible. Zola seemed to many of the critics to have no moral purpose, to be exploiting the public's sensual instincts, and those who admitted the moral purpose joined the others in condemning the means and method of attaining it. They all considered his use of argot with unexpurgated vocabulary, his frankness, and his insistence on ugly details immoral, indecent, and dangerous.

Zola ran the gamut of all the major esthetic sins, they thought. He lacked in the first place esthetic training and esthetic feeling and the desire to have either. They denied that Zola, who claimed to be an arch-realist, portrayed life realistically, because he presented only one phase of life, the evil and ugly, and not life as a whole. They denied further that his insistence on facts portrayed reality, which

is something more than facts. They contended that Zola despised beauty, the all-important criterion of true art, and that he allotted too great a place in his novels to the ugly, which should be employed only as a contrast to the beautiful. Zola's art, they asserted, did not raise the reader above the level of the every-day, as true art should. They criticized his refusal to arrange and dramatize reality, to make his novels more than a 'lambeau.' They felt that his novels merely trailed off and did not end. And in them the retribution that art demanded failed to overtake the evil-doer, and the rain fell equally on the just and the unjust.

Perhaps the worst fault, however, they thought, was the lengthy and detailed descriptions, which hurt the narrative, blurred the outline, and bored the reader. Zola did not know that it was important to leave some things to the imagination. Typical of his confused esthetic thinking was his attempt to make literature a science, for the two are antithetical by nature. His science was uncritically studied and poorly applied. His 'experiment' was not a valid scientific experiment. His application of scientific methods to literary problems they believed a misunderstanding of the psychology of artistic creation, since it denied the part played by intuition and imagination. Lastly, they believed Zola's materialism and fatalism resulted in esthetic mistakes, narrowing the world to pathological phenomena, showing no moral struggle, and making it impossible for him to portray great individuals, without whom there can be no great art.

If this picture of Zola is to our way of thinking inexact and distorted, it is not due to a lack of knowledge of Zola's works but to an inherent opposition to Zola's world of thought. These critics did not misunderstand him. They understood him too well, and saw that his theory and their

theory were mutually exclusive. His morality and their morality could not exist side by side. The victory of his system was the death of theirs. We cannot condemn them for defending themselves. They committed, however, the cardinal sin of imputing to their adversary dishonest and corrupt motives, and this we may condemn.

If we ask wherein the basic difference in their world of thought consisted, we must first take into account the fact that they were German and Zola French. Though this is a very minor factor, there is some antagonism on this score in the criticism, which is occasionally colored by national differences. On the whole, however, this factor is less important than might be expected. More important is the chasm between Zola's historical, literary, and philosophical background or tradition and that of his critics. The critics could not but judge from the viewpoint determined by their background, even though, as was the case, they were thoroughly acquainted with French literature and philosophy. We must not forget that they thought in terms of Goethe and Schiller.

There is more, however, than this clash of national differences; for French critics took the same stand. It was rather the collision of two generations very different in training and outlook. It was the collision of an aristocratic generation with a democratic, a philosophical generation with a practical, an esthetic generation with a scientific. Where Zola was loyally, though critically, democratic, his critics feared the chaos and mediocrity of democracy. Whereas he despised metaphysics as a glass in which one sees reality darkly if at all, philosophy and the speculative method was the stuff of which their life was made. Whereas he made even literature a science, they set it on heights that science could never scale, in a realm whose laws were higher than the laws of science.

We can best illustrate the antagonism that existed between Zola and his critics by comparing certain basic conceptions which lay behind the conflicting opinions. They did not mean the same thing when they spoke of 'morality' and accused each other of immorality. To Zola, morality meant striving to know the truth of some evil in order to cure it; it is the morality of science "to make itself master of life in order to direct it."[135] His frank portrayals are not immoral, because they have this aim, the highest possible moral aim. The critics meant by morality an established code of decency and culture which was not to be transgressed. It was immoral to discuss publicly those things which Zola demanded be made the object of frank discussion.

The same alignment holds for their esthetic thinking. Zola believed in studying art-phenomena, deducing the central factor that differentiated one age from all others and interpreting the phenomena in terms of this factor. He was evolutionary and relativistic in theory. The critics believed in an established esthetic code. Literature meant to them an eternal, unchanging art governed by unshakable laws; to Zola art was eternal, but only as a series of different phases, each of which had its own laws. The modern age, the farthest advanced in art's evolution, had its own laws, he believed, which were not those of any preceding phase.

The artist and his psychology were differently conceived by Zola and his critics. Zola replaced the conception of the artist as the inspired genius by the conception of the artist as the zealous researcher; the laboratory replaced Parnassus. He is not Apollo's disciple but Esculapius'. His psychology has changed; he studies, sees, observes, and makes use of his imagination only to help trace causal con-

[135] *Le Roman Expérimental,* p. 23f.

nections when his knowledge does not suffice. The critics' conception keeps the poet on Parnassus; he is a marked man, with unusual intuition and imagination, who does not need to see and study, because he experiences without experience, sees without seeing. He aims to delight and elevate, whereas Zola's conception would have the poet know, and impart his knowledge.

These opposing conceptions are typical of a period where two generations such as these meet. It is sometimes hard for us, who have experienced the complete fusion of the two in a new conception of the world, to understand the sound and fury of the combat, which to us seems no longer real. Yet it was the birth-struggle of the present.

Chapter II

THE RECEPTIVE CRITICISM

1. Introductory Survey

Zola might well have been writing prophetically of his relations to German literature when about 1880 he wrote of his position in France, "C'est l'éternelle histoire; on se fâche et on plaisante d'abord, puis on finit par imiter."[1] The beginnings of such a change lie well within the years of hostility studied in Chapter I. M. G. Conrad, Heinrich and Julius Hart, and Oskar Welten, whose voices, though seemingly lost in the tumult of hostile criticism, were raised to demand a different interpretation of Zola and his works, were the pioneers in the reinterpretation and restatement of Zola, which after 1885 was widely accepted. Conrad was by far the most important of the four, since his forceful criticism and his influence on his contemporaries made him a more successful champion than the Harts, who were only partially in sympathy with Zola, and Welten, whose single monograph never had the prominence and influence of the others' criticisms. Our second chapter, which will discuss the favorable criticism of Zola through 1890, will first have to study the work of these four and then the critical material of what we may call the central phase of the receptive criticism, the work of Wilhelm Bölsche, Karl Bleibtreu, Klaus Herrmann, and other less important critics, who dealt with the theoretic problems of naturalism in their relation to Zola and attempted to state his theory in terms

[1] *Le Roman Expérimental*, p. 128.

of German thought, thus completing the work of the pioneers.

The material with which we shall deal in our study of the second period is, in several respects, different from that which we studied in Chapter I. In the first place, two new journals have appeared, the *Berliner Monatshefte,* which lived a bare six months and is only important for the study of Heinrich and Julius Hart's relation to Zola, and the *Gesellschaft,* the most important journal for the study of this period. In the second place, there were published several monographs, dealing directly with Zola or discussing him in relation to naturalism, such as Wilhelm Bölsche's or Klaus Herrmann's.[2] This type of monograph is new in German criticism of Zola. At the same time the periodical literature, with some exceptions, occupies a less important position in our material. The *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes* continued to play a leading rôle. Of the remaining journals we may say that they continued their hostility to Zola, but devoted far less attention to him. Conrad's *Parisiana* and *Madame Lutetia*[3] alone represent the journalistic descriptions of Parisian life which were so common in the previous period.

So important for our study is the *Gesellschaft* that we must stop and see, at least for its first issue, just how great a part it played in the campaign for Zola. Its spirit was in general that of Zola, for it is to be "an organ of free, humanitarian thought, of straight-forward love of truth, of an absolutely realistic philosophy;" and like Zola it calls for fearless study of social problems and condemns the timidity of conventional morality.[4] While the program does not mention Zola's name, the pages of the first volume

[2] See Bibliography.

[3] Breslau and Leipzig, 1880, and Leipzig, 1883.

[4] "Zur Einführung," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 1–3.

are filled with articles on him or his work. Three stories and one essay of his appeared in translation, as well as a 'sample' chapter from *Germinal*.[5] Nor did the editors of the *Gesellschaft* neglect the struggle over Zola in German criticism: Welten's chapter on *L'Assommoir* from his *Zola-Abende bei Frau von S.* was reprinted;[6] Lindau was attacked for his review of *La Joie de Vivre;*[7] Conrad satirized naturalism's supposed predilection for filth in a sharp epigram;[8] Eduard Engel's defense of Zola's morality was reprinted from *Die Psychologie der französischen Literatur;*[9] there was a passage at arms with the *Berliner Monatshefte* over its jibe at Zola and the *Gesellschaft;*[10] a letter was printed pointing out the great likeness between Zolling's review of *Germinal* and Lemaître's;[11] Karl Bleibtreu contributed a scathing letter on "Zola and the Berlin Critics";[12] George Cristaller discussed Zola in the light of *Germinal*.[13] All in all, a goodly share of the journal's pages to be devoted to one author!

Of the four novels published by Zola from 1885 to 1890, *Germinal* was beyond question the most important in its effect on the criticism of the second period. It was the volume of the Rougon-Macquart series which dealt directly with the social problems of the day, and hence appealed to the social interests of the younger critics. They would probably have proclaimed the new gospel had *Germinal* never

[5] See Bibliography for titles.

[6] *Ges.*, 1885, p. 31.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 14; for Lindau's review see Chap. I and *NuS*, XXX, 371.

[8] *Ges.*, 1885, p. 81.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 647.

been written, but certainly, as in the case of Karl Bleibtreu, this study of modern society was a decisive factor in awakening their enthusiasm.[14] It was its social import that caused Conrad to reprint a chapter in the *Gesellschaft* of 1885. All the younger critics responded to its inspiration and felt its social meaning. The same reason explains the second period's interest in *L'Assommoir* and *Nana* and, to a lesser degree, *Au Bonheur des Dames,* while it gives us one of the clues to the more measured reception of *La Terre, L'Œuvre,* and *Le Rêve. La Joie de Vivre* appealed to the second period's scientific interests.

L'Œuvre, 1886, though hailed as a superb portrayal of the modern artist, awakened nowhere the enthusiastic response that greeted *Germinal,* for the reason we have just mentioned, and because it dealt with French art-conditions. The critic for the *Gesellschaft,* however, wrote: "Every trait in this moving tragedy is modern, the whole glorious artist-hero with his fanatical love of nature, his devouring struggle, his inexorable demands on his own creations, his brutal love of truth, belongs to our age and only our age."[15] *La Terre* aroused much the same storm of abuse in Germany as in France, but in spite of this the younger critics pointed out the artistic power of the novel,[16] and defended it against accusations of immorality.[17] This novel, too, failed to awake the social interest of the receptive critics, and in spite of its artistic power, they failed to hail it as they had hailed *Germinal.* An additional reason may be that the subject was again treated from a specifically French angle. Though it was one of Zola's major novels, it did not have the influence that might be expected. *Le Rêve,* 1888, is

[14] See Cristaller, "Der Zolaismus an Germinal erklärt," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 647.

[15] Friedländer, "Zola und die Hellmalerei," *Ges.,* 1888, p. 227.

[16] L. de Hessem, "La Terre," *Mag.,* 1888, p. 17.

[17] Fuld, "Das Verbot von Zolas La Terre," *Ibid.,* p. 41.

more important for its effect on the critical attitude of the period which we shall study in the next chapter. It lacked the scientific and social elements which appealed to the second period. It seemed to them a proof that Zola could handle delicate and chaste subjects, and little more.[18]

It may be well to give a brief summary of the 'Zola-Krieg' which the opposing schools of Zola-critics waged as signs of a growing interest in Zola and a receptive attitude toward his work began to appear. As this change took place, much of the older critics' violent attack was turned from Zola himself to any German critic who tried to speak a word for the 'Grand Master of Naturalism,' especially to M. G. Conrad. The same thing happened in the case of the translations of Zola's novels which appeared from 1880 on. These signs of a receptive attitude toward Zola added fuel to the fire of the older critics' moral indignation, and their criticism reflects this. Though Zola's novels can only be "repellent to the purer morals of the German Empire,"[19] Gottschall felt it necessary to reëcho the Latin warning: "Videunt consules ne quid detrimenti capeat respublica."[20] The hostile critics were sure that "everyone can give for himself the answer to the question whether literary works written in the naturalistic style should be translated into our beloved German. It is: No!"[21] Those German critics who saw good in Zola's novels and wished to see Zola's theory applied to German literature suffered, according to Gottschall, from "porous heads."[22]

Such attacks could not, and did not, pass unnoticed by those against whom they were directed. In the writings of

[18] L.d.H., "Le Rêve," *Ges.*, 1889, p. 1.

[19] Niemann, "Émile Zola," *Gr.*, 1888, p. 614.

[20] "Die Klinik in der Literatur," *BLU*, 1885, p. 577.

[21] Lemmermayer, "Émile Zola in deutscher Sprache," *ALC*, 1881, p. 145.

[22] "Le Roman Expérimental," *BLU*, 1880, p. 785.

Conrad, Welten, and Bleibtreu answer was given these hostile criticisms in no uncertain terms, and quite often in as personal a tone as that of the attacks. At least, wrote Conrad, Zola is objective and impersonal, whereas "these fine idealistic gentlemen of literary criticism heap crude personal criticism on those who dare to seek—led by temperament or conviction—salvation outside the church of the infallible privy-councillors."[23] The critics who thus attacked "those Germans who feel it their conscientious literary duty to explain the works of this remarkable author to their country-men" forget the tact due among colleagues, politeness, and the necessary, impartial scientific attitude. To judge by such criticism, he continued, "the wildest Naturalists are truly far, far better men, more honorable companions, more trustworthy and commendable authors; for their principle is always strictest objectivity, unbribable love of truth, logical contempt for personal animadversion."[24] Welten wrote, "Not in the remotest are they [the older critics] honorable and conscientious judges of this man and his powerful creations."[25] These statements, to which others equally bitter might be added, are sufficient to show the polemic nature of the warfare waged for and against Zola.

The few articles defending Zola's theory and practice or giving a favorable interpretation of the man and his motives represent less than one sixth of the material on Zola before 1885. Only a small part of this can be called genuinely favorable; the rest being simply impartial criticism which is neither pro nor con. Most of the really favorable material is from Conrad's pen. The only journal that was really open to this material was the *Magazin für die Litera-*

[23] "Zola als Kritiker," *Mag.*, C, 586.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Zola-Abende bei Frau von S.*, Berlin, 1883, p. 9.

tur des In- und Auslandes. F. K. Petersen's article on Zola is the first and almost only criticism to treat Zola as a legitimate author, not as the *bête noir* of the day, to discuss him as a personality, trying to explain the man by his heredity, training, and environment, not merely in terms of literary formulae.[26]

Heinrich and Julius Hart deserve first treatment in our study as representatives of the transition stage from the earlier critical attitude to the more favorable, sharing as they do certain ideas of both periods. Their first mention of Zola occurred in the short-lived *Deutsche Monatsblätter* where they republished in 1879 Edmond d'Amicis' study of Zola which Julius Rodenberg had published in the *Deutsche Revue* for that year.[27] Three years later they gave in the *Kritische Waffengänge* a full statement of their attitude toward the French naturalist and their dissatisfaction with the existing criticism of him.[28] The essay is an attempt to find the value in his theory, and refute what they considered false. They wanted reformation, evolution, not revolution. The following passage which concludes a summary of Zola's theory bears witness to the extent of their disagreement: "Really nothing more is necessary than to summarize such assertions to show clearly the lack of basis in Zola's system, this web of one-sidedness, false suppositions, misrepresentations, and half-truths."[29] They agreed with the older critics that Zola's style tended toward triviality,[30] and that his revolt from idealism had swung to the opposite pole and was just as false in its conception

[26] "Jüngere französische Romanschriftsteller, II, Émile Zola," *UZ*, XIII, 1, 401.

[27] *DMB*, 3, 629. Quoted from *D.Rev.*, XX, 480.

[28] "Für und gegen Zola," *Kritische Waffengänge*, Heft 2, p. 44.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[30] *Ibid.*

of life as idealism had been.[31] His characters, they felt, were mere abstractions.[32] And they agreed with his opponents that Zola pained his readers instead of elevating them,[33] that he lacked humor,[34] that he neglected the spiritual.[35] On the question of the relation of literature and science they held with the hostile critics that science and art are antithetical in aims and means, and that the 'experimental novel' is not a science; but went further in saying that it should share the scientific spirit.[36] On the other hand, they shared the dissatisfaction of the younger critics with existing German literary conditions to which, they felt, Zola was an antidote; they shared also the dissatisfaction with the German criticism of Zola and its conventional moral standards.[37] They shared the emphasis of the second period on 'truth' [38] and the social morality of Zola's theory, which they defended passionately.[39]

M. G. Conrad stood completely on the side of the new interpretation of Zola. It was he who did more than any one else to erase the picture which the first period had drawn and to substitute a new and (to the second period) more satisfactory one. He owes his achievement to his personality, which was much like Zola's in its forcefulness and combativeness. Conrad was, above all, a hero-worshiper, and this fact made his approach to Zola unique; for to him Zola was a hero of the nature and calibre of Nietzsche, Wagner, and Bismarck, whose names like Zola's were

[31] *Ibid.*, Heft 6, p. 55.
[32] *Ibid.*, Heft 6, p. 56.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] J. Hart., "Der Zolaismus in Deutschland," *G.*, XXIX, 214.
[36] *Krit. Waffengänge*, Heft 2, p. 53.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 44f.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 48f.

trumpet-calls to his enthusiasm. Conrad pictured Zola as a "colossal force,"[40] "the bold hero,"[41] a "Kraftmensch";[42] his work was "an heroic deed."[43] Conrad admired him because he was forceful and lived his life to the full.[44] He liked his "divine inconsiderateness,"[45] his nearness to the earth,[46] his apostolic zeal and his conscientiousness,[47] his courage and his indifference to attack.[48] This element of hero-worship we cannot afford to overlook if we would understand Conrad's interpretation of Zola.

Conrad shared Zola's love of truth; he agreed enthusiastically with his conception of social morality[49] and considered him the most moral of French novelists.[50] He accepted the relation of science and literature as Zola had stated it and believed that here Zola had made the greatest advance, especially in the application of the scientific method to literature and criticism.[51] Conrad's articles were, from first to last, an attempt to answer the many charges that had been brought against Zola and to reinterpret his purpose and results. Conrad was thoroughly German, however, and he admired Zola because the latter was 'volkstümlich.'[52] Conrad merely wished to see German literature profit by Zola's advance; he did not wish

[40] *Madame Lutetia,* p. 23.
[41] *Parisiana,* p. 195.
[42] "Zola als Kritiker," *Mag.,* C, 586.
[43] *Madame Lutetia,* p. 43.
[44] *Ibid.,* p. 23f.
[45] *Parisiana,* p. 194.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 220.
[47] *Ibid.,* p. 195.
[48] *Ibid.,* pp. 195, 219, 232.
[49] *Madame Lutetia,* p. 31.
[50] *Parisiana,* p. 221.
[51] *Ibid.,* p. 201f.
[52] "Vom vaterländischen Roman," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 832.

slavish imitation.[53] A much later statement of Conrad's in 1890 gives the best summary of his relation to the Frenchman: Zola was not the

> grand Lama of a new artistic revolution but the great genius who encourages, less a literary than a moral model. He has made our hearts strong, has hurled the glove in challenge to the literature of the family, or better the nursery . . . and has planted upright the banner of honest, free, independent literature, of virile, strong art.[54]

Oskar Welten (Georg Dolezal) was the first of the younger critics to attempt to show in his monograph *Zola-Abende bei Frau von S.* the esthetic justification of Zola's theory which, he considered, "gives the final external impulse toward an advance in the field of esthetics,"[55] and "has expressed the eternal esthetic laws . . . in a form which corresponds to our modern needs."[56] Welten was like the other younger critics in his revolt against what was traditional, and against the hostile criticism which we have studied.[57] He believed that Zola was extremely moral and idealistic.[58] Naturalism, not derived from 'Naturalia,' means to him simply 'Natürlichkeit.'[59] Zola's scientific theory is not folly but simply advocates the adaptation of the scientific method to literature. The 'experiment' in Zola's sense Welten accepted,[60] and reinterpreted imagination and intuition in words which are almost Zola's.[61] He defended Zola's use of the ugly, and believed that an au-

[53] *Ibid.*
[54] "Prof. Volkelt und der deutsche Realismus," *Ges.*, VI, 317.
[55] *Zola-Abende bei Frau v. S.*, p. 119.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 14f.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 16f.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

thor's idealism elevates even the most ugly descriptions.[62] The theory of the milieu and heredity, as modern science presents it, could not be overlooked by a man of Zola's critical sharpness.[63]

Four years later than Welten's monograph, but akin to it in its attempt at an esthetic formulation of naturalism, was Wilhelm Bölsche's *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie.*[64] It was an attempt to reconcile the new science with the old literature. Hardly a point is made on which Zola is not cited as an example of what Bölsche desires. Two factors conditioned his attitude toward Zola, his love of German literature and his belief that only from its own past can the salvation of German literature come,[65] and his theory of the normal as the ideal, whereas Zola, he thought, stressed the abnormal.[66] Bölsche believed in Zola's "ability and honesty of intention,"[67] and, like him, saw the gradual replacement of metaphysics by science as the central factor in modern intellectual life. Hence he demanded that poetry adapt itself to the new condition.[68] Zola's theory of the 'experiment' he accepted,[69] and arrived in his subsequent discussion at a determinism not unlike Zola's. Zola was to him a pioneer in the application of the laws of heredity and milieu to literature and in his treatment of sex.[70] Zola had recognized, he said, as one of the first the significance of Darwinism for literature.[71]

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[64] Leipzig, 1887.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 66ff.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 1–4.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[71] See *Ibid.*, Chap. VI, "Darwin in der Poesie."

Bölsche himself gives the best summary of his position in regard to Zola:[72]

> Study Zola, respect him, help enlighten those short-sighted readers who cannot bear a poet who is not afraid to go the limit in the service of his ideas. But do not blindly proclaim yourselves disciples of Zola. . . . Study science as Zola has honestly tried to do. All this is hard work, but it carries us forward.

Both of the two remaining critics whom we shall discuss in detail approached Zola's naturalism from the social angle. They are Klaus Herrmann, who is known to literary history only for his monograph *Der Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute,*[73] and Karl Bleibtreu. There is something akin to Conrad in Bleibtreu's temperament and style. His criticism of Zola is, however, marred by his excessive egotism and his erratic judgments. It was not until he had read *Germinal* that he was converted to Zola.[74] He approached Zola, however, with esthetic reservations and diverges on esthetic questions widely from the latter's path in the direction taken by the Harts.[75] If for no other reason, he admired Zola as the opponent of the older critics' literary and critical standards, and especially their lack of interest in social problems.[76] With Zola he shared an evolutionary conception of esthetics[77] and a desire to see literature turn from metaphysics to science.[78] He agreed partially with Zola's determinism.[79] His major interest, however, was in Zola's social idealism.[80]

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[73] Hamburg, 1886.

[74] "Zola und die Berliner Kritik," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 463.

[75] *Revolution der Literatur,* p. 29f.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[77] "Realismus und Naturwissenschaft," *Ges.*, 1888, 2, p. 1.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.* and "Die Auffassung der Liebe und die Zukunftspoesie," *Ges.*, 1888, 4, p. 297.

[80] *Revolution der Literatur,* preface.

Klaus Herrmann is interesting for our study because he interpreted Zola as a social prophet crying to unheeding ears that the age was one of turmoil which demanded action. Although he had little use for the esthetics that would exclude "politics, economics, and factories" from literature,[81] he did not consider Zola an ideal but merely a guide to the right road.[82] Zola's negative importance was that he awakened his readers to social morality;[83] his positive, that he applied scientific methods to the problems.[84] What hostile critics had called his immorality was, according to Herrmann, really a courageous study of ugly evils, for Zola was not a pessimist but an active, idealistic worker.[85] Herrmann found him modern in theory and practice. But "the road leads from the ideals of past ages, which we left behind, through pessimism, which destroys our faith, to naturalism and from there onward to new ideals."[86]

2. Analysis of the Criticism

As a basic part of their reinterpretation of Zola, the younger critics described the man and his motives in terms that are in diametrical opposition to the conception we have studied in Chapter I. They stood closer to the man, as is evident in Conrad's case. They, who were themselves rebels, looked with very different eyes on Zola's rebellion against authority. They did not consider him a destroyer, but, believing as they did that esthetic systems are too often a bondage, saw in him a deliverer whose unique genius tore

[81] *Der Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute*, p. 51.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 5f.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

away the shackles and freed the creative spirit for new and wider activity. He was more than this, however, for his work not only offered the negative value of rebellion but also mapped out the roads of new achievement. From this point of view how differently they had to interpret his critical activity! It was not brutal destruction; it was forceful construction.

They stood closer also to his social idealism. Where the first period had considered Zola cynical and misanthropic because he presented social evils frankly, the second period, agreeing with Zola that such problems were the most fitting subject for modern literature and that they should be treated frankly and objectively, could not interpret Zola as a misanthrope because he did not let his personal reactions color his portrayals; or as a lover of the ugly, a pessimist, because he was brutally frank and insistent in presenting his evidence of the ills of society. His objectivity seemed to them scientific impartiality; his interest in social evils, not pessimism, but idealism.

Zola's brusk and powerful nature was not denied by the critics of the second period, but was reinterpreted as strength and power. Conrad pictured Zola thus: "Zola is [contrasted with Daudet] wholly male, wholly a fighter. He does not seduce by his charm, he compels." [87] Bleibtreu delighted in *Germinal* as the "storm-song of a giant"; to him it was a "Berserker paean which echoes to heaven with its all-shaking power." [88] As a part of this conception of Zola, we find him portrayed not as a pessimistic weakling defeated by circumstances but as a man of action who struggles against circumstances and overcomes them. Conrad interpreted the story of Zola's life of hardships thus and pointed out that Zola was a man who had made himself

[87] "Zola und Daudet," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 746.

[88] "Zola und die Berliner Kritik," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 463.

great by determination and strength in spite of great obstacles.[89] He does not appear as a crude 'autodidact' but as a self-made genius. "Contrasted with the sceptics and pessimists of the intellectuals [Gebildeten], Zola is the glorifier of work, of action," wrote Herrmann.[90] And Bleibtreu prized *Germinal* because in it there was "that sublime weltschmerz which gives birth not to dull despair, but to action."[91] Zola is a worker in his 'shirt-sleeves' like Bismarck, Conrad wrote,[92] and Bölsche stressed the fact that Zola had not shunned the hard work incident to his application of modern scientific knowledge and methods to the problems of literature.[93]

The conception of Zola as artist and critic held by the second period ascribed to his criticism and creation this same strength and power, and did not see in his attack on his contemporaries merely his natural brutality and in his novels merely his natural crudity; but in the one a conscientious and courageous statement of his convictions, and in the other the overflow of rugged creative power. As a critic he was, they held, fearless, logical, and 'divinely inconsiderate' in his battle for what he honestly considered truth.[94] Through the storm of abuse which his fearlessness had brought down upon him he strode with supreme indifference.[95] He was independent, asking no man's favor, giving and asking no quarter, and not afraid to criticize those in power.[96] He appealed to Conrad as a contrast to

[89] *Parisiana*, p. 201f.
[90] *Der Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute*, p. 41.
[91] See n. 88.
[92] *Parisiana*, p. 194.
[93] *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie*, p. 12.
[94] *Parisiana*, p. 194.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 195f. See also p. 219 and 232.
[96] *Madame Lutetia*, p. 26.

the weak literati with their shallow chatter.[97] His powerful criticism is genius snapping the bonds of convention, for the younger critics considered him a genius of unusual, colorful temperament who could not be forced into ready-made moulds,[98] an individuality that is "fully justified and powerful." [99] Conrad pictured Zola as living his life to the full, and Zola's essay which appeared in the *Gesellschaft* for 1885 contained the significant words: "I do not like anything that is not one's own life, one's own temperament, genuine reality." [100]

The change in the conception of Zola's morality was even greater than the change in the interpretation of his nature and character. The thought of the second period on moral questions was essentially the same as Zola's. The question of the use of the worker's argot is not a burning one in this period, since none of the novels after *L'Assommoir* had brought this question again to the fore. Conrad alone, in his earlier articles, defended Zola on this question.[101]

Paul Lindau was the chief spokesman for the case of outraged decency, as we have seen, and it is interesting to note that the first volume of the *Gesellschaft* attacked him for this stand. Lindau had spoken [102] of unalterable codes of decency which represented the highest flowering of human culture. The younger critics answered: "Does not the history of culture and morals teach us rather just the opposite? Is not everything which we call respectability and decency subjected to a continuous process of readjustment? Is not morality something fluid which obeys the universal laws of

[97] *Parisiana,* p. 197 and 211.
[98] *Madame Lutetia,* p. 24.
[99] *Kritische Waffengänge,* Heft 2, p. 49.
[100] *Ges.,* 1885, p. 55.
[101] *Parisiana,* p. 220; "Zola und Daudet," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 746.
[102] See Chapter I, p. 17.

evolution?'' [103] Here we have one of the basic antagonisms which divided the two periods.

For science had taught the younger critics that ''realistic ethics'' gives no system of moral law but ''merely a study of the nature and morals of the man of the future.'' [104] The student of realistic ethics studies existing society and morals, and their history, and thus achieves an understanding of the present state of morals. Is not the program of the *Gesellschaft* largely an attack on the weakness of conventional moral standards and the proclamation of a more realistic approach to moral problems? [105] The younger critics attacked conventional standards because 'decency' often stands in the way of the complete and frank study which alone can cure social ills. That this was the belief of the younger critics is evident from Cristaller's statement: [106]

> We moderns . . . desire to think on every subject without reverence or shame, we wish to see and touch everything, we hate whatever would veil our eyes. For we believe that free thinking on all questions can shape our life here under the iron laws of necessity more happily, that good does not of itself win the victory, but must be willed; and what we ought to will must first be thought out . . . without deference to anything.

That they considered this the truly moral attitude is evident from Conrad's words: [107] ''In every field, even the most lascivious, competent knowledge is the need of every virile, healthy spirit. The true friend of man is also the friend of radical truth and its straight-forward expression.'' It was of such morality that the younger critics considered

[103] *Ges.*, 1885, p. 14.

[104] Cristaller, ''Vorwort zu einem Buch über die Moral der Liebe,'' *Ges.*, 1886, p. 36.

[105] *Ges.*, 1885, p. 1f.

[106] See n. 104.

[107] See n. 101.

Zola the champion, and thus they looked upon him as the advocate of a stronger and more creative morality which freed literature and life from the bondage of Philistine conventions. He is, in Conrad's words, "to be numbered among the most incisive moralists that France has produced." [108]

The very fact that they themselves had to fight the rule of conventional morality made them turn more eagerly to Zola. To them he seemed to represent that which was lacking in German literature: moral courage and a desire to know the truth. He was the opposite of the current hypocrisy.[109] Instead of boldly facing the problems of social evil, German literature, they thought, tried to avoid them. It was afraid of them and desired to stop any attempt to discuss them, even though the age was socially 'threatening.' [110] In contrast, Zola was truthful and to accuse him of immorality was to accuse the world itself with its evils and short-comings.[111] Literature ought to try to solve the problems that "torture men's hearts." [112]

Even granted that Zola went beyond the demands of such social morality and exaggerated evils, as some of the younger critics admitted,[113] they still considered him moral in every fibre of his being. He "touches no subject without treating it in the light of his great purpose" and ennobling it.[114] Zola was no longer portrayed as laughing cynically at the evils he described, but as standing in sorrow

[108] *Parisiana*, p. 221.

[109] See n. 105.

[110] Bleibtreu, *Revolution der Literatur*, p. 12.

[111] See n. 107.

[112] Herrmann, *Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute*, p. 3.

[113] Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie*, p. 66.

[114] Ernst, "Die moderne Literaturspaltung und Zola," *Mag.*, 1887, p. 341.

and pity, determined to alleviate them by Herculean effort. It was this conception that made Bleibtreu cry on reading *Germinal:*[115] "I do not believe any man so abandoned by God, so bare of all moral emotion, that he is not gripped and shaken by this immortal work." Julius Hart wrote in a review of a popular novel: "The German critics should pillory the lewdness in such writings as this which glorify vice and not in the works of Zola and those critics of morals who condemn vulgarity by disclosing it in its true form."[116]

In the final analysis, the question around which the whole matter revolves is this, what is the purpose of the 'experimental novel'? For the most a critic may ask of a work, as far as its morality is concerned, is that it have a moral effect on the reader, whereas the means of achieving this effect must be left entirely to the author.[117] Does Zola intend to glorify and gild vice? The answer of the second period is emphatically, no!

> Do you mean to say that even his most abused novels, *L'Assommoir* and *Nana,* do not have a moral effect? That these powerful tragedies of human rottenness do not bring about that catharsis of the passions which Aristotle calls the only aim of tragedy? O miserable souls who experience and live through these creations and can yet heed whether everything transpires with propriety![118]

The mistake of a critic like Lindau is three-fold: he acts as if literature were written for man as a social being, and not for man as a human being standing above social prejudices; he applies the standards of conventional morality to genius instead of interpreting genius from its own works

[115] "Zola und die Berliner Kritik," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 463.
[116] *BMH,* 1885, p. 409.
[117] *Kritische Waffengänge,* Heft 2, p. 49.
[118] *Ibid.*

and purpose; he considers only the moral effect of the subject matter and not the moral intent of the author.[119] Thus, since the younger critics all considered Zola a "fighter against the deep-seated ills and diseases of our age,"[120] his morality was to them beyond question. They believed, since he is an idealist, he has no choice but to present evils as he does in order to help eradicate them. "He must cast his brilliant light into the most secret corners of society, just as a good house-wife cleans not only the middle of the floor but labors to keep dust and dirt out of the corners," for it is from the corners of society that the ills of society come.[121]

In the keen interest which they took in the question of Zola's morality, the younger critics did not lose sight of the important esthetic questions. There was less uniformity among these younger writers, for they had embarked on voyages across unexplored waters. They did not have a theory; they were making one. They all agreed, however, in certain general approaches to the esthetic problems and in the belief that certain esthetic 'dogmas' must be abandoned.

They believed that the correct approach to esthetic problems was not through speculation but through a study of the phenomena of art, and its history. In this they agreed with Zola thoroughly.[122] The old esthetics had been wrong in its method, the speculative method, and in its attempt to make the data fit the theory.[123] The new esthetics "will study in the various arts the works, ideals, and theories of the different periods, countries, and cultures of the lead-

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 44f.

[120] Herrmann, *Der Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute*, p. 45.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[122] *Le Roman Expérimental*, p. 221.

[123] Alberti, *Natur und Kunst*, p. 7.

ing spirits; and from the data collected, develop a series of type ideals, etc."[124] A true system of esthetics can be based only on scientific procedure. The old method had resulted in a mistake:[125]

> Instead of being led by the consideration of the whole structure of science, and thus, instead of regarding esthetics as a bit of anthropology, they [the speculative critics] arrange this branch of knowledge according to their personal tastes and degrade esthetics to a textbook of their individual prejudices in matters of art.

Esthetics, the younger critics held, is not a system of dogmas which are unchangeable and equally applicable to all ages. They believed that here, too, evolution has taken place, and that a new theory and practice like Zola's must not be condemned by applying criteria of past ages, but studied scientifically to find the new and valuable elements peculiar to it. "The conception of poetry is not a dogma which is established for all ages, but changes with the changing times," wrote Eugen Wolff, who was far from being a close adherent of Zola. "Not as right or wrong are we to judge that which different ages have considered the basis of art, but as existent. And just as your grandfathers set up a principle of poetry you have the right to create out of the spirit of your age a new poetry with new laws."[126] This, they considered, Zola had done. He has caught the spirit of his age, is modern; and his modernity is healthy, since "an art, a work of art is healthy when it is created out of the attitude that is characteristic of its age, sick when it stands in contradiction to it."[127]

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] Cristaller, "Gedanken über die schöne Kunst," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 251.

[126] Wolff, *Die jüngste deutsche Literaturströmung und das Prinzip der Moderne*, p. 82.

[127] Alberti, *Der moderne Realismus*, p. 16.

Instead of being false because it conflicted with the existing dogmas of art which were based on the past, Zola's theory seemed to them to have given a new impetus to esthetics.[128] Zola, therefore, appeared as a creative genius who had widened the sphere of literature to new subjects, supplied new data on artistic creation, and applied a new method which was the method of his age.[129] His works are, according to Conrad, "mile-stones on the path of the evolution of art."[130] And he is bound to triumph, because "no critical agreement can disturb the circle that the iron laws of evolution have drawn even in art."[131]

The second period's conception of Zola is conditioned by its nationalism or patriotism, and its revolt against German literature and criticism. It is well known to every student of the period that these younger critics were in revolt against the popular literature of the day. We must ask, however, what is the relation of this revolt to their conception of Zola? It added to their enthusiasm for his achievement; it drove them to him; it made him seem a guide out of the desert in which they thought themselves.[132] He was, in Julius Hart's words, a bitter medicine.[133] The same critic wrote of Conrad: He "was the standard-bearer of Zolaism because he saw in Zola the absolute opposite of the weak, lyric sentimentality of the decadent romanticism that still dominates our literature to too great an extent."[134]

Especially in the case of the novel were they driven to Zola by what they saw around them in German literature,

[128] Welten, *Zola-Abende,* p. 119.

[129] Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie,* p. 5f.

[130] Conrad, "Vom vaterländischen Roman," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 832.

[131] Conrad, "Zola und Daudet," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 746.

[132] Bleibtreu, "Neue Realisten," *Mag.,* 1886, p. 814.

[133] "Der Zolaismus in Deutschland," *G.,* XXIX, 214.

[134] *Ibid.*

for "all German novels, with a few honorable exceptions, treat one and the same subject, the love of a chaste maiden for a youth who, also afire with love, has all sorts of obstacles to overcome in order to reach the goal of his wishes. It is the eternal story of Romeo and Juliet with the sole difference that the lovers must get each other at the end of the novel." [135] The good attributes which the German novel lacks are the special characteristics of the French novel, e.g. *Nana*.[136] Conrad attacked the German historical novel in much the same tone and with the same conclusion: that the French novel, especially Zola's, with its modernity and 'Volkstümlichkeit,' was the happy opposite.[137]

But the younger critics knew that the German novel was not the French novel, and their admission that the latter was superior was made with sorrow and humiliation; for they were above all patriotic and convinced that German literature must remain thoroughly German. Its salvation must come from within. Thus the charge of Francophilism and lack of patriotism which was sometimes brought against them is false. The truth of the matter is that the first period conceived patriotism as a return to, or adherence to, the German past; the second period considered it its patriotic duty to modernize German literature in technique and subject-matter.[138] Conrad believed that "naturalism as an artistic principle is basically only a strengthening of the social-national principle, an affirmation of the artistic will to portray in a work of art the modern, national life of man in the environment which conditions him." [139]

[135] Lebel, "Über das Romanwesen in Deutschland und Frankreich," *Mag.*, CX, 516.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] See n. 130.

[138] *Ges.*, 1885, p. 1f.

[139] See n. 130.

Conrad Alberti listed nationalism as one of the principles of realism,[140] and summed up the attitude of the period when he wrote: "If the German realists have received stimulus from the outside, they have put it out at high interest and given it a completely new form, given it added depth, and systematized it."[141] Various critics pointed out also that there was an inherent difference in the German and French natures which made slavish imitation of Zola false and dangerous.[142]

It was from this angle that the second period approached those esthetic problems which we have discussed in Chapter I. The younger critics did not consider beauty the aim of art. To them it was truth, Zola's ideal, the truth concerning that which we do not yet know about human nature and its relation to society.[143] "There is an esthetic, one might better say pseudo-esthetic, school which asserts that art has as its sole aim the presentation of that which is beautiful, that the artist stands under the sole governance of beauty. . . . This school is not to be taken seriously," wrote Welten.[144] Alberti concluded that "the fact of a free (unconditioned) feeling for beauty cannot be proved to exist in any primitive race, any human being, save the German professor."[145] The principle of beauty as the aim of art is speculative deduction by the older theorists, who "identified art with beauty" and "sought to ascertain the nature of the latter first of all and then measure art by this."[146] The new esthetics will avoid this mistake.

[140] *Der moderne Realismus,* p. 16f.

[141] *Ibid.,* p. 22f.

[142] Bleibtreu, "Über Realismus," *Mag.,* 1887, p. 385; Wolff, *Die jüngste deutsche Literaturströmung, etc.,* p. 94.

[143] *Le Roman Expérimental,* p. 22f.

[144] *Zola-Abende,* p. 25.

[145] *Natur und Kunst,* p. 10.

[146] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

The younger critics considered Zola's substitution of truth for beauty his greatest achievement, his most essential contribution to modern literature.[147] Conrad believed that "as an artist I have no other obligation but to help the truth of nature to its full rights."[148] What they meant by truth is evident from Alberti's statement that "Real [reale] nature, as it appears to the man who stands at the height of his age's knowledge, is the only truth and the only justified object of artistic presentation; its continuous and earnest study the preëminent task of the artist."[149] If this presentation entails the portrayal of the evil and ugly, the esthetic justification lies in its truthfulness. It is from this standpoint that Bleibtreu judged the ugly details to be found in *Germinal;* they are essential to a truthful portrayal of the miners' lives.[150] To reproach an author for the portrayal of the evil and ugly is not justified "in so far as it is the medium through which to present a bit of the truth of life."[151]

Hand in hand with this belief that beauty is not the aim of art went the belief that art is not intended to be a pretty toy and merely give enjoyment to a cultured and refined few. While they do not go as far as Zola, who foresaw a time when legislation may be based on the data gathered by the 'experimental novelists,' the younger critics emphasized the practical importance and mission of literature. Its "first and greatest problem is to lay hold of the great questions of the day." "The age is too serious for pretty nonsense." "The cry 'art for art's sake' is

147 H. and J. Hart, *Kritische Waffengänge,* Heft 2, p. 53.

148 See n. 131.

149 *Der moderne Realismus,* p. 18.

150 "Zola und die Berliner Kritik," *Ges.,* 1885, p. 463.

151 Kapff-Essenther, "Romanhelden von einst und jetzt," *BMH,* 1885, p. 176.

nonsense because it puts form above content. Art is never born from abstract love of art, but from passionate sympathy with the joys and sorrows of the world in which the poet lives."[152] Its "final purpose is the knowledge and solution of the riddle of the world, universal happiness."[153] We have traveled far from Wilhelm Jensen's conception of literature![154] Klaus Herrmann puts it vividly: Literature "is not the domain of refined cultured circles alone; it belongs to all men and all men to it."[155]

Zola's objectivity could not be praised enough by the writers of the second period, and it is a long journey back to the belief in Zola's cynical indifference.[156] The younger critics did not like to see the world arranged according to the author's subjective pattern, be it emotional, religious, or metaphysical, and they admired Zola because he "remained cool to the very bottom of his heart even though virtue is miserably defeated and vice triumphs."[157] "Unconditionally good" seemed the demand made by Zola that the novelist "stick to the truth of phenomena, that he reproduce them with objective faithfulness, and not put his subjective conception of the world in place of the reality of existence."[158] All the emphasis was laid in the second period on the objective pattern of reality itself, instead of on the subjective pattern that the author gave. The younger critics repeatedly pointed out the pattern of reality in Zola's novels, the iron logic of natural laws. "In Zola, as in Shakespeare, everything is terrifyingly unveiled se-

[152] Bleibtreu, *Revolution der Literatur*, p. 13.
[153] Alberti, *Der moderne Realismus*, p. 14.
[154] See Chapter I, p. 20.
[155] *Der Naturalismus und die Gesellschaft von heute*, p. 12.
[156] H. Hart, "Die neue Literatur," *BMH*, 1885, p. 397.
[157] Conrad, "Zola und Daudet," *Ges.*, 1885, p. 746.
[158] Troll-Borostyani, "Der französische Naturalismus," *Ges.*, 1886, p. 215.

crets, iron reality of horrible inexorableness."[159] I think that here, in this conception of the structural pattern of life itself, we have the reason for the period's lack of interest in the question of the novel as a 'lambeau' of life which so aroused the first period. The younger critics, like Zola himself, saw life as a great structure of natural laws which does not need the scaffolding of the author's subjective conception. There is nothing fragmentary in a 'lambeau' of life since it is part of the pattern of natural laws.

Poetic justice was given short shrift by the defenders of Zola, who, like him, did not accept the earlier conception that evil should be punished and good requited in novel or drama. In speaking of the statement made in the first period that *La Conquête de Plassans* alone had an ending in accordance with the law of poetic justice, Welten wrote:[160]

> That is the childish demand that falsehood has smuggled into literature, a demand which, according to my conviction, has nothing to do with esthetics or ethics, and as a rule, does not correspond to real life. Esthetics demands psychological truth, ethics demands a presentation of evil such that we become its enemies; and only the public, or better part of the public, demands that the punishment of the evil-doer be made a rule of art. And as I have pointed out, many important subjects for possible literary treatment and many talents are sacrificed to this neither esthetic, nor ethical demand, to satisfy which hundreds and hundreds of authors do not hesitate to alter the characters of their personages at will, to make them do and think things which lie outside the psychological possibility. For the sake of this demand our literature has become sickly, banal, false, and unnatural.

There was a feeling among these critics that Zola's conception of sin as its own worst punishment is more ethical than

[159] See n. 157.

[160] *Zola-Abende*, p. 151.

the old conception of poetic justice, and that he can "pass the trifling external expiation disdainfully by."[161] The second period, however, did not manifest any great interest in this question, which was lost in the greater social and moral problems with which they were occupied.

There was also less interest in the question of Zola's descriptions. Not all the younger critics defended them against the criticism brought by the first period, and much of their discussion of this question is like the first period's. A new interpretation of Zola's use of detail appeared, however, which is quite similar to his own.

> Nothing appears to the modern artist unessential and unimportant any longer merely because it is small and hidden. He hunts out its influence on the subject he is presenting, and if he finds the influence to be at all strong, he portrays it. Therefore modern art is an art of detail, but only important detail.[162]

Bölsche pointed out how seemingly meaningless details can take on new importance as factors in the working of the law of cause and effect, and gave as an example *Au Bonheur des Dames,* where the destruction of the small shops by the department store, in itself not a very poetic subject, takes on poetic value in relation to the working of economic laws.[163]

It would be quite possible to continue the discussion in greater detail, but such a discussion would throw little further light on the new conception of Zola. The following quotation from Conrad's summary of the 'new' literature will illustrate how closely in agreement with Zola these critics were:[164]

[161] O. Ernst, "Die moderne Literaturspaltung und Zola," *Mag.,* 1887, p. 341.

[162] Alberti, *Natur und Kunst,* p. 57.

[163] *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen,* p. 82.

[164] See n. 157.

Faithful reproduction of life with strict exclusion of the romantic element which interferes with the probability of the phenomenon; the composition has its center of gravity no longer in the invention and development of a more or less exciting plot which holds the reader in breathless suspense, but in the choice and logical sequence of the scenes taken from real life, in the arrangement of which and in the social background of which the highest truth must appear as the most perfect art; no heroes of superhuman size, no puppets of the imagination larger than life, but real human beings just as sublime or pitiful as society produces, i.e. creatures whose proportions correspond to the measure of ordinary existence, who do not move through the novel as through a fabulous land, like colossi among dwarfs; the beauty of the work does not consist in idealising exaggeration but in the harmony and truth of the whole as well as of the parts, in the greatest possible exactitude of the 'documents humains' which the artist's hands grave in imperishable marble; the author disappears completely behind the action and does not disturb its course and the development of the characters by his laughter or tears, by injecting moralizations or reflections or by his personal sympathy to any noticeable degree; the novel keeps its impersonal, objective unity throughout, this *sine qua non* of every art-work that is to be effective per se and bear witness to the life within it.

In Eugen Wolff's monograph *Die jüngste deutsche Literaturströmung und das Prinzip der Moderne* it is the scientist who solves the riddle of the purpose of art for the confused artist.[165] It was science which had solved the riddle for the whole period. While Wolff agreed with Zola as to the importance of science for modern literature, he, like the Harts, did not accept Zola's further deduction that literature must become science, but believed it should merely share the scientific spirit.[166] This was in fact the general belief of the period, which found here one point in which it did not follow Zola completely.[167] It believed

[165] 1886, p. 79. [166] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[167] Bölsche, e.g., *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen*, p. 4.

that literature must adapt itself to science and the scientific method and that the dividing line between art and science had been too sharply drawn by the first period. "In one word, realism is the younger brother of modern science, it is born of the very spirit of the age and is a natural necessity." [168]

The 'experiment' in Zola's sense was accepted and defended against the many attacks of the hostile critics, for

> every poetic creation which tries not to transgress the limits of the natural and possible, to let things develop logically, is, seen from the scientific standpoint, nothing more or less than a simple experiment carried out in the imagination, the word experiment used in its literal, scientific sense.[169]

The oft repeated charge that the real scientific experiment takes place objectively, whereas the poet's 'experiment' is never free from subjective interference, could now be answered. If "the scientist lets nature itself act and becomes a mere observer as soon as he has gotten his experiment under way," no less has the "poet observed himself and others and takes up his experiment with the data of these observations and his knowledge. The experiment takes place in complete accordance with natural law, under the control of this knowledge, under control of truth and nature." [170] Welten interpreted the 'Gretchen Tragedy' in *Faust* as 'experimental' in Zola's sense, since Gretchen, once her heredity and environment have been postulated, cannot act except in accordance with these hypotheses. Goethe is thus completely controlled by them and cannot change her character to suit his wishes. All worthwhile literature must be scientific in this sense.[171]

[168] *Der moderne Realismus*, p. 25.
[169] Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen*, p. 7.
[170] *Zola-Abende*, p. 20f.
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 17f.

Such an interpretation of literature is possible only when the critics' major demand is truth to life and, as we have seen, the second period demanded just this. It would be impossible to attain this if the whole psychology of poetic creation had not been reinterpreted. Otherwise Bölsche could not have written, as cited above, that the 'experiment' takes place in the 'imagination.' Imagination was now not interpreted as "that imagination which loses itself in the blue empyrean and denies reality, naturalness, logic, and psychology, down to anatomy and physiology"; intuition was "the ability to guess where his [an author's] knowledge and observation no longer suffice."[172] Imagination is not the ability to make up stories; it is a finer sense of the workings of cause and effect. The poet is not less great but differently great.

The age in which they lived, the younger critics believed, was scientific, and herein lay for them its peculiar character; that which differentiated it from all preceding ages, which had been religious or metaphysical. This belief they shared with Zola and further his contempt for metaphysics. They were in varying degree and fashion positivistic in their conception of the world. They could not understand why the older critics could not grasp the simple fact that a complete reinterpretation of art and life was necessary, "since the gigantic strides of science, which has adopted an entirely new method, since the complete decline of philosophical speculation, show that we are going toward a new age."[173] Their conception of life was in many respects as deterministic as Zola's, for "the phenomena of nature have impressed on our consciousness the picture of an unshakeable order of law in all cosmic activity."[174] They accepted this determinism in varying

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[173] Welten, *Zola-Abende*, p. 7.

[174] Bölsche, *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen*, p. 1.

fashion, some almost completely [175] and others [176] with reservations, but all interpreted life as a process of natural law.

3. Summary

In the very midst of the attack that the first period made on Zola there appeared an interpretation of the man and his work which was basically different from that we studied in Chapter I. It was largely the work of M. G. Conrad to whom it owed a large part of its forcefulness and power; but Heinrich and Julius Hart, who championed Zola's demand for truthfulness and his morality, as well as Oskar Welten, who attempted an esthetic statement of the new theory, ably seconded him. The work of these men, which triumphed around 1885, was taken up by Karl Bleibtreu and Klaus Herrmann, who both stressed the social aspect of Zola's theory, and Wilhelm Bölsche, who attempted a complete theory of naturalism along Zolaesque lines. In the *Gesellschaft* the new interpretation had a central stronghold. There were other lesser critics who joined these six and interpreted Zola in similar terms; foremost among these was Conrad Alberti, the most radical theorist of the group.

These critics portrayed Zola in a light that made their conception the opposite of the earlier one. They considered him an idealist, not a cynical pessimist; a lover of humanity, not a misanthrope. He was strength and power personified, and his supposed brutality, a courageous defence of his convictions. His judgment of his contemporaries was objective, scientific study and not a mere 'Zerreissen' motivated by jealousy and vanity. He was a creative genius, a colorful temperament, who rightly disregarded literary and social conventions. He was, therefore, portrayed

[175] E.g. Bölsche.
[176] E.g. Bleibtreu.

as a deliverer from the oppression of tradition, and an explorer of new roads to achievement. He was constructive, an optimist who fought against evils. His greatness was self-made, and he no longer seemed a semi-cultured autodidact. He was a worker and active in an age when activity was necessary.

The discussion of the morality of Zola's work illustrates the gigantic chasm between the two periods. The younger critics believed, first of all, in the evolution of morals, and, then, in the scientific approach to social problems. Such study of society seemed to them a moral act, whereas any attempt to suppress frank discussion they thought cowardly and immoral. Zola seemed to them to be the outstanding champion and example of such morality and the opposite of the timidity around them. If such study entailed the presentation of ugliness, this was justified by the results achieved. The purpose was moral. A truly moral man had to deal with the crying problems of the day.

Esthetically, the younger critics started from Zola's premise that esthetics evolve and that every age has its own justified conception of 'poetry' which must be stated in terms of the age and not condemned by the criteria of past ages. They approached esthetics scientifically, not with an established theory or by speculative deduction, but by working from the data to theory. Zola seemed a deliverer from the bondage of traditional esthetics. They were driven to him by conditions around them, but, strongly patriotic, they did not want slavish imitation of his works.

From this background they approached esthetic problems. Truth, not beauty, was the aim of their art. Truth meant to them the knowledge of human nature and life. The truthfulness of Zola's work justified the use of the ugly. His objectivity they thought excellent, since it did not disturb reality with subjective reactions and hence was

scientific. 'Poetic justice' seemed to them a childish fiction and not as moral as Zola's impartial portrayal of reality. They justified Zola's theory of description as necessary to an understanding of the influence of environment on the characters, though they felt he often went too far in practice.

They agreed with him that literature must become scientific in spirit, but did not agree that it was science. With the exception of the Harts and Eugen Wolff, they accepted the 'experiment' in the novel as valid. They meant that a novelist was compelled to portray the characters in his works in accordance with the hypotheses of their heredity and environment. Poetic creation became in their interpretation a matter of knowledge and observation; imagination was a fine sense for tracing the workings of cause and effect. They condemned metaphysics and the metaphysical approach to life, like Zola, and largely shared his deterministic conception of life.

This is in rapid survey the new conception of Zola and his theory. It has swung from one extreme to the other and achieved an interpretation which is closer than the first period's to the modern conception of Zola. It has done this without the aid of the data derived from Zola's later works and his action in the Dreyfus case, on which our own conception is based. It was less successful in its interpretation of his works and theory, for we cannot say with any truth that Zola can be successfully understood in terms of his own theory as this period tried to do, but only in terms of his individuality, his temperament. They gave a portrait of Zola the naturalist, not a portrait of Zola the artist. The second period represents a very necessary stage in the criticism of Zola, not the final one.

The analysis in the preceding section may at times have seemed to discuss the second period's own theory rather

than its relation to Zola. This is not the case, however, since all the theory discussed and cited in this chapter was centered upon Zola, and usually only Zola; and secondly, it was in nearly all cases, point for point, Zola's own theory. This does not mean that Zola alone gave the second period its theory, i.e. that he alone led them to their conception of science and social morality, for this would mean that it was Zola who had given them their scientific training and showed them the social problems. The social and scientific bases of their theory were laid before they came in contact with Zola. Their professors at the German universities who taught them science are much more truly the fathers of their theory; the social conditions following Germany's rapid economic rise taught them the significance of the social problems. Zola was not necessary here. Zola, however, stated in an appealing and forceful theory the relation of both these things to literature, and here lies his importance. He was the pioneer who first showed them the interconnections between science and modern society and literature, and led the way by applying this knowledge in his novels. Did they not portray him as such a pioneer throughout their criticism? This and his courage and enthusiasm gave him an unusual appeal to them.

Zola and the second period of our study were in virtual agreement on certain points which it may be well to summarize here. They both believed that literature must be modern in spirit and subject matter. This belief arose from the conception that literature grows out of its environment (in the wide sense of age and land). They both stressed nationality; Zola inherently, in his works, the critics in their theory. Like him, they considered the age scientific and hence believed literature must be scientific, though unlike him, they would not make it science. The

scientific method was applied by both to literature and criticism. Both believed that the law of evolution applied to esthetics and morals. Both replaced metaphysics by scientific study. Both were deterministic, though in varying degrees. Both conceived morality in terms of social idealism.

Chapter III

THE DISCOVERY OF ZOLA'S 'TEMPÉRAMENT'

1. Introductory Survey

Zola had defined an art-work as "un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament." The first period had condemned the whole definition; the second had emphasized the first part, "un coin de la nature." It remained for the third period to discover the latter part of the definition, "vu à travers un tempérament." The third period stressed not only the importance of the subjective elements in all artistic creation, but discovered as well the peculiar 'tempérament' of Zola and its part in his works. In the first and second periods there had been occasional references to Zola's subjective approach to life, but they had been mere eddies in the main current, which was flowing in a different direction. The third period, moving away from the positivistic conception of life and literature, and emphasizing personality, discovered in Zola's novels elements which are not reality, but Zola's way of seeing reality. It did not merely mean that Zola saw life pessimistically, as the first period had pointed out, but that certain factors in his psychology gave his view of reality a peculiar cast.

Although this conception is part of the period's general trend, it was first stated by Georg Brandes in 1888,[1] and our third period of Zola-criticism may be said, therefore, to date from that year. It is interesting to note that this new conception appeared within the years in which German naturalism began to produce creative work. This

[1] *D. R.*, 1888, p. 27f.

fact is, however, no contradiction of our statement that a new, non-naturalistic comception arose in 1888, for we are dealing with criticism and not creative writing. Just as the second period's naturalistic theory arose before naturalism produced literary works, so the new subjective conception arose several years before it became creative in literature. The end of the third period of our study is the year 1893, for reasons explained in the introduction.

Five new critics of importance appear in this period: Georg Brandes, Hermann Bahr, Maximilian Harden, Julius Langbehn, and Arno Holz. The material for the period is to be found in the journals that we have already discussed, and in the new *Freie Bühne, Nation,* and *Kunstwart,* of which the two former are most important. The *Gesellschaft* plays a minor part in this period. The other journals which we have repeatedly cited take on a greater importance once more.

The new conception is neither exclusively hostile, nor exclusively favorable to Zola; for it is quite possible to consider him greater for his poetic imaginative nature, or quite as possible to consider him, for the same reason, a literary quack who had promised an advance in theory and not fulfilled his promise. While it did not necessarily condemn Zola as an artist, the third period turned away from his positivistic and scientific theory. But through all the conflicting opinion there runs the central thread of the realization that Zola was not merely an objective reporter who told his story without subjective interference, but that his mental make-up was reflected in his works.

The last five novels of the Rougon-Macquart series were very important for the rise of this conception. We have seen how little importance the second period attached to *Le Rêve.* The reason is that certain peculiarities of treatment and composition brought to the fore the question of

Zola's artistic psychology, in which that period was not interested. The detail especially stressed by those critics, however, who were not under the naturalistic spell was the romantic quality, for "no other novel of Zola's represents so vividly the romantic influence on Zola's creation."[2] Zola was compared to Victor Hugo, Lamartine, George Sand.[3] His "poetic, imaginative nature" was stressed.[4] Other critics pointed out the symbolism of the volume.[5] Franz Servaes called attention to the central rôle played by the cathedral, i.e. the peculiar use of the milieu in Zola's works.[6]

La Bête Humaine, 1890, was the novel, however, which gave the final impetus to the new conception of Zola as a vivid, romantic, and imaginative personality. Maximilian Harden called the novel the most romantic of the Rougon-Macquart series, and Zola himself "the romanticist of Naturalism," its Victor Hugo.[7] Unrealistic details to be ascribed to Zola's creative psychology are, according to Harden, the inanimate hero ('Lison,' the locomotive), to which qualities usually ascribed to the human hero are here given; the knife with which the murders are done, an 'Ahnfraumesser'; the symbol of the red signal-light, representing murder, which had affected Zola's whole creative process during the writing of the novel.[8] Erich Schmidt added to this list the character of Cabusch, a 'Naturmensch,' and the symbolism of the run-away train (the

[2] Zolling, "Ein tugendhafter Roman von Zola," *G.*, XXXIV, 296.

[3] *Ibid.*, and Schröter-Göttingen, "Zolas keuscher Roman," *BLU*, 1888, p. 23.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Brausewetter, e.g., "Zolas neuester Roman," *Mag.*, 1889, p. 24.

[6] *DLZ*, 1889, col. 524.

[7] "Zola und sein Menschenvieh," *G.*, XXXVII, 216.

[8] *Ibid.*

Second Empire).[9] Herrmann Bahr stated the case even more forcibly. *La Bête Humaine,* he wrote, stands below Zola's other novels as an expression of his theoretic purpose, but above them as an expression of his personality, or temperament, and is the best proof of his 'Sonderheit.' The "'puissant visionaire' of Médan who has been all his life of Hugo's blood, only with a Stendahlian revolt in his soul," is "a romanticist to the nth degree [romantische Potenz] with naturalistic instincts."[10]

In the case of *L'Argent,* there appears in the criticism a note of disappointment, as if Zola had dropped below his previous artistic level. It is good, wrote Bölsche, that the series is coming to an end, since it is becoming too large to allow an organic esthetic judgment. This volume is a transition volume, lacking a central idea, having loose composition; in such a volume Zola tends to go back to the "romantic intrigue-plot," a procedure which challenges the whole theory. Bölsche found the novel boring in spite of some excellent qualities.[11] Several critics pointed out that the characters were merely abstract ideas personified.[12] Servaes called attention to the very apparent system of hyperbole, antithesis, and symbolism which Zola had worked out and applied in this, as in other of his novels.[13] Zolling noted the symbolism;[14] Clemens Sokal the 'Leitmotive,' the contrasts, Zola's predilection for the grand and powerful.[15]

La Débâcle, 1892, dealt with a sensitive point in German and French relations, the Franco-Prussian war, and, in spite of an honest attempt to be objective, the criticism

[9] *DLZ,* XI, col. 1285.
[10] *Überwindung des Naturalismus,* p. 183.
[11] "Zolas L'Argent," *Fr. B.,* II, 282.
[12] Servaes, *Mag.,* 1891, p. 195.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] "Zolas Geld," *G.,* XXXIX, 311.
[15] "Ein moderner Heldensang," *NuS,* LVII, 270.

reflects the tumultuous emotions which the subject necessarily aroused. The critics' majority opinion was that Zola, though he may have been trying to be fair, had given a prejudiced and unfair portrayal of the German army.[16] This opinion reached its climax in Karl Bleibtreu's review.[17] On the whole, even allowing for this emotional reaction, we are not going beyond the truth of the matter when we say that this novel, even more than *L'Argent,* was not considered on an artistic level with Zola's other works, that it met with harsh criticism in point of style and composition.[18]

The last volume of the series, *Le Docteur Pascal,* 1893, the critics recognized as a summary of Zola's theories of heredity and milieu in relation to the Rougon-Macquart cycle.[19] In this sense they considered it the most subjective of the novels, since here Zola is not merely portraying reality but presenting his own ideas.[20] The emphasis on the romantic elements was not lacking, and it was pointed out that Zola's creative method was beginning to degenerate into mannerism.[21] The novel was found boring.[22] A new symbolism was discovered: Dr. Pascal represented, the critics thought, the old realistic literature; Clothilde, the new symbolism and neo-mysticism.[23]

[16] See *Mag.,* 1892, p. 670 (under "Literarische Neuigkeiten").

[17] "Zolas Kriegsroman," *Ges.,* 1892, p. 1663. See also "Vermischtes," *ibid.,* p. 1148. Bleibtreu accuses Zola of having used *Dies Irae* without acknowledgment. The charge seems unfounded. See Alberti, *Bei Freund und Feind,* p. 240f.

[18] See n. 17, first reference. Also, Anon., "La Débâcle," *Gr.,* 1892, 3, p. 353.

[19] Ledebur, "Zolas Docteur Pascal," *Fr. B.,* IV., 1893, p. 1057.

[20] E.g. *Ibid.* and G—tze, "Docteur Pascal," *Ges.,* 1893, 3–4, p. 1219.

[21] Wychgram, "Zolas Rückschau," *BLU,* 1893, p. 401.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] See n. 19.

2. Analysis of the New Conception

The idea that there are in Zola's novels certain romantic elements and that his claim to reproduce reality exactly is false, because his peculiar psychology, his way of seeing life, colors his supposedly objective portrayals, was not entirely unknown before 1888. This conception was never the dominant one, however; for, as we have seen, the dominant conception was either too hostile, as in the first period, which, refusing to consider Zola as a legitimate author, did not find his psychology worth its serious attention; or too theoretically opposed to the subjective conception, as in the second period.

As early as 1877, however, the seduction of Renée in *La Curée* was called "one of the boldest and most realistic chapters of modern romanticism."[24] Julian Schmidt thought that Zola's portrayal of the world was "not without a certain romanticism which shows the objects that he portrays in a light which is foreign to them," and pointed out the unusual part played in the novels by the 'atmosphere,' the milieu.[25] Max Nordau noted in 1880 that in Zola's novels objects "take on a soul, a Schopenhauerian will, they enter into active relationship with each other and the characters that move between them; they become transcendental beings who take part in the drama of which they are witnesses."[26] Ludwig Pfau noted Zola's habit of exaggeration, and his romanticism.[27] The naturalists were called the 'romantic school' of the age.[28] Zolling pointed out the likeness between Zola and Victor Hugo, and also the

[24] D'Abrest, "Les Rougon-Macquart par Émile Zola," *G.*, XI, 105.
[25] *Portraits aus dem XIX. Jahrhundert,* p. 425.
[26] *Paris unter der dritten Republik,* p. 124.
[27] "Émile Zola," *NuS,* XIII, 61f. and 63f.
[28] Hellwigk, "Rückblicke auf das französische Theater," *Mag.,* C, 564.

way in which the moods of Zola's characters are reflected in the landscape.[29] Taken thus out of their context, such statements seem to represent an important phase of the early criticism, but this was not the case. They were not an integral part of the first period's conception of Zola. They are sparks, not the steadily burning fire.

Nor did the receptive critics fail, during the second period, to see certain subjective elements and a certain romanticism in Zola's novels. Oskar Welten noted the romantic quality of *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret;*[30] Bölsche recognized a bit of Victor Hugo in Zola.[31] Bleibtreu considered Zola romantic, even lyric at times.[32] Julius Hillebrand saw subjective elements in Zola's works but did not list them.[33] While the second period did stress Zola's colorful personality, as we have seen, this was not done to show the effect of his personality on his works, but merely to emphasize the right of personality, of genius, to snap the bonds of conventional esthetic doctrines. There was no attempt to state Zola's creative psychology in terms of its peculiar approach to reality, for their very theory made these critics blind to this angle of the problem. They did not reconcile the intense personality they pictured with the objective portrayal of reality that they considered one of Zola's major achievements.

These scattered hints are gathered together in the article by Georg Brandes which appeared in January, 1888, in the *Deutsche Rundschau,*[34] under the title "Émile Zola." In a sense, then, Brandes was not the discoverer of the new

[29] *Reise um die Pariser Welt,* p. 110.

[30] *Zola-Abende,* p. 208.

[31] *Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie,* p. 89.

[32] *Revolution der Literatur,* p. 31, and "Über Realismus," *Mag.,* 1887, p. 385.

[33] "Naturalismus schlechtweg," *Ges.,* 1886, p. 232.

[34] Page 27.

conception of Zola, for as we have seen there were clues ready to his hands in the important Zola-criticism. He was, however, the first critic writing in German who focused the new conception, drew the correct conclusions from it, and realized fully its implications. He gave the new conception so classic an expression that it carried the weight of conviction and remains today one of the best statements of Zola's artistic psychology. Brandes' importance for the spread of the new conception was great; some critics drew directly upon him and acknowledged their debt,[35] while others show great similarities. Almost all the subjective elements discovered by the period are to be found listed in Brandes' article.

Brandes first discusses Zola's debt to Taine, pointing out similarities in the two men, similarities which are enlightening for the new conception of Zola: both love that which is rich and broad, powerful, abrupt, and massive; both delight in form and color, in the drama of nature, in orgies and violent actions, in a simple frame around a mass of detail; both systematize and describe.[36] Zola loves both reality and personality, 'tempérament,' a "powerful, inborn peculiarity" in an author, a colorful, personal way of looking at life. Both reality and personality he found stressed in Taine's definition of an art-work.

But does not personality color and change reality? Brandes answers that it does, and that Zola realizes this. He has a good deal of the romanticist in him, as he himself admits.

Zola's temperament is indeed to be found, according to Brandes, in his descriptions of reality. It is in the portrayal of the march of the insurgents by night in *La For-*

[35] E.g. Erich Schmidt, *DLZ*, IX, col. 325.

[36] This reference and all the following references to Brandes are to *D. R.*, 1888, p. 27f.

tune des Rougons, for Zola arranges the setting to increase its effectiveness. It is Homeric, as he himself tells us. "Provençal workers in the light of the heroes of the *Iliad* is the contribution of Zola's temperament, not of nature." Thus too, the classic idyll of Silvère and Miette in the same novel. There is romanticism in Miette's death, for she has come to personify the freedom killed by the coup d'état. The scene where she seizes the red flag is the romanticism of Delacroix. In *L'Assommoir* the description of the roast goose that fills a whole street with its aroma is a subjective contribution to reality, and shows how an artistic temperament exploits an object for its purposes. Zola loves the symbolic treatment of reality, and thus makes the 'yellow salon' in *La Fortune des Rougons* a symbol of envy; the brook in *L'Assommoir* changes color to symbolize the moods of Gervaise. These little symbols can become huge and disturbing, e.g. Nana, who is a destructive genius. In *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret* the symbols run riot. Zola is Miltonic or Klopstockian in his symbolic treatment of major characters. The same is true of his use of inanimate details.

Zola is no more psychological than Taine and shows characters formed and unchanging, not in the process of growth. "Zola's very leaning toward the portrayal of the essential, the universally valid, that which is as little variable as possible, drives him to shut out from the mental life the highest emotional life and the finest intellectual life as something which is not there, in which he seems hardly to believe. . . . He loves to stick to the simple, basic impulses and the simplest psychological conditions." His pessimism "works with this tendency" and he "simplifies and reduces," until for example, art becomes, in *L'Œuvre,* simply an "eternal torture." This tendency to simplify leads him

to that which is representative, so that a single working-man represents the whole working class. . . . His chief ability lies in conceiving typical traits and great totalities. He loves to produce the effect of something gigantically great. He is like Hugo in this and in his method of achieving it by the repetition of details. . . . But in order to fuse the details, to produce the unified effect he is striving after, he takes refuge in the symbol, the great basic symbol, e.g. the markets in *Le Ventre de Paris*. . . . He carries all that is human back to the animal; strips off the highest mental life and the fine play of the intellect and gives man, even the most intellectual man, to us as an almost unconscious mechanism or as a mechanism that functions through some mania.

In turn he transfers will to inanimate objects.

Such analysis of Zola's psychology was absolutely new, and I have reproduced it in detail to show how unique it was in the German criticism of that day. Brandes' critical insight and the documentation of his points carried weight. Such a new presentation of Zola could not fail to stimulate the new line of criticism, even in the midst of the turmoil of the debate over naturalism. Brandes' share in the new conception was great; his achievement, to have made the tendency which was in the air vocal and creative. He is, in this sense, the father of the third period's conception of Zola.

It may be well to give here a summary of those subjective elements which Brandes noted in Zola's novels, to show how completely his article covered the subject and how the other critics drew on his analysis. The elements are: love of the massive and powerful, delight in color and form; tendency to describe and systematize; introduction of himself in his novels; his use of literary material, classic or romantic, in modern garb; personification of abstractions; symbolism of trivial details, large details, major and minor characters; pessimism; simplification and reduction, especially in psychology. The other critics repeated these

points, sometimes modified and sometimes with new documentation from Zola's works. Zola's system of antithesis, contrast, and hyperbole is inherently stated in Brandes. His tendency to exaggerate and his attempt to impress the reader by a certain arrangement of the material do not escape Brandes' notice.

The impact of Brandes' conception on German criticism is immediately evident, as in the case of Erich Schmidt, who acknowledged in a review of *La Terre* that he owed much to Brandes.[37] An anonymous critic, in a review of the same novel, stressed the fact that it was an "Individualitätsdokument" in which the author's nature is expressed to the full.[38] In 1890 Harden added new material to the growing list of romantic attributes to be found in Zola's psychology: his predilection for the violent; his exaggeration of good and evil; his treatment of the milieu, which makes it the 'fate' of the Greek conception; his symbolization of the milieu; the transposition of the hero's moods into the background until "all nature lives."[39] To W. Weigand Zola seemed "one of the most unique natures of the second half of the century," a symbolist, a romanticist, as is shown by his "need of deep, disturbing emotions."[40]

The year 1890 stressed especially the element of imagination and interpreted Zola as a man of unusual imaginative power. His imagination is the only thing Moritz Carrière found praiseworthy.[41] Alfred Fried, contrasting Zola and Ibsen to the disparagement of the latter, wrote: "On all his [Zola's] journey there accompanies him his faithful companion imagination. . . . Whatever he sees, his imag-

[37] See n. 35.

[38] "La Terre," *Mag.*, 1888, p. 14.

[39] "Der junge und der alte Zola," *Nat.*, 1889, p. 114.

[40] "Niedergang des Naturalismus in Frankreich," *G.*, XXXV, 229.

[41] "Natur und Kunst," *NuS*, LV, 90.

ination works in him powerfully and lets him see what is hidden from others."[42] To Zola imagination, the step-daughter of the age, seems to have fled for refuge.[43] Ola Hansson, no friend of naturalism, wrote that the German naturalists have adopted Zola's pedantic insistence on detail and overlooked "the colossal and massive in the Rougon-Macquart series, the magnificent in the symbolism which lies behind Zola's portrayals like a wide horizon seen from some attic window in a great city; they overlooked the strong solution of personality that is the drop of life in all great literature."[44] The edition of Hellmuth Mielke's *Der deutsche Roman des XIX. Jahrhunderts* published in 1890 called attention to "the magic power which Zola's Cyclopean nature is able to give reality."[45]

The new conception continued to grow and spread. The year 1891 brought Bahr's review of *La Bête Humaine*, which, as we have seen, emphasized the subjective character of this novel. Bölsche, a naturalist, wrote that "Zola's whole power lies in the great symbolizing movements of the milieus."[46] Zola has always been, wrote Clemens Sokal, "in spite of his literary method, a friend of the unusual and grand, a romanticist in realism, a portrayer of great catastrophes, violent actions, and has never hesitated to sacrifice, in spite of his theory, the probability of his novels to this predilection."[47]

L. H. Mann wrote in his article on "Neue Romantik": "Perhaps some day we shall reach the point where we shall drop the distinction between realism and romanticism which

[42] *Der Naturalismus, seine Entstehung und seine Berechtigung*, p. 31.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[44] "Über Naturalismus," *Kw.*, III, 225.

[45] Page 338.

[46] "Ein sozialistischer Kritiker Zolas," *Fr. B.*, II, 1037.

[47] "Ein moderner Heldensang," *NuS*, LVII, 270.

is still so much stressed. At any rate the last word has not been spoken on the question of how much neo-romanticism there is in so-called naturalism." [48] Servaes considered Zola's influence harmful because "this astonishing poet is too much of a personality to serve others as a model." [49] These are but representative examples of the new conception, which was even more widespread than they would indicate.

There is no better example of the new conception than Eugen Wolff's *Zola und die Grenzen von Poesie und Wissenschaft,*[50] which upholds the theory that literature and science are separate spheres, and adduces as a large part of the proof the subjective elements to be found in Zola, the arch-champion of the opposing theory. Wolff, who was partially of the second period, pointed out that Zola's own definition admits the large share of the individuality in artistic creation; and that Claude Bernard, on whose work Zola based his theory, admits that the subjective element is the distinction between art and science.[51] Wolff hardly makes a point that cannot be found in Brandes' article. He shows that Zola admits, e.g. in *L'Argent,* that he starts out from a basic 'philosophic idea.' This is a purely subjective approach to reality.[52] He points out the use of traditional literary motifs in Zola's novels,[53] as had Brandes; and also "the unconscious tendency of Zola's artistic nature to show ordinary human beings possessed by a passion to an unusual degree, which leads him to choose with special favor those cases which show passion wrought up to a mania," [54] which Brandes had noted. Wolff's con-

[48] *G.*, XLII, 40.
[49] "Georg Egerstorf," *Mag.*, 1892, p. 755.
[50] Leipzig, 1891.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 1f.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 13–14.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 17f.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

clusion is that the most 'idealistic' poet need not be more symbolic and romantic than Zola.[55]

Eight of the ten points in Wolff's summary list subjective elements to be found in Zola's novels. They may serve as proof of the far-reaching nature of the new conception and the debt the monograph owes to Brandes. They are (with Wolff's numbering):[56] (3) The connecting of facts does not take place, as Zola demands, by merely logical arrangement; but rather are they held together by definite considerations, above all, by the basic theme. (4) Considerations of the impression on the reader guide the author's hand in nearly every case. (5) The human attributes do not appear in normal, natural measure but in extraordinary size. (6) The subjectivity of the poet is challenged by crass phenomena to present them in a portrayal that is caricature. (7) And in other respects the portrayal is directed in those channels in which the author's individuality moves. (8) The poet gives instead of the mechanism of the phenomena their emotional impress on his soul, when he turns to comparisons, images, transpositions. (9) Nay, he carries them quite outside the sphere of natural phenomena by making them symbols. (10) The experimental novelist gives his theory its death-blow by feeling, and giving expression to, a need of 'experimenting' a mood out of nature, since nature has no mood; and, secondly, since a mood really means the transfer from a material sphere, which naturalism alone admits, to a spiritual sphere.

As part of its emphasis on the artist's individuality, we find the third period in revolt against the theory of the milieu on which Zola and the second period had laid great stress. In spite of its realization that here was a theory which did contribute to a more complete understanding of

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 36f.

human beings, the third period believed that it had subordinated the individual to his environment far too much. "The emphasis is no longer laid on the portrayal of individuals . . . but on the detailed portrayal of the milieu. . . . The stage decorations become the main thing and push the human characters to one side." [57] The milieu theory thus makes nature all, the individual nothing, forgetting that man is active, not passive, in relation to his milieu, that he is something more than the sum of all the influences working upon him.[58] Such a theory as Zola's was good as a reaction from the conception that man was absolutely independent of his surroundings, but it has swung to the opposite extreme, and must be abandoned.[59] Moritz Carrière called 'milieu' a purely French conception, suited to the French nature, but foreign to the German, which emphasizes individualism and the freedom of personality.[60]

An integral part of the new conception was the proclamation of the end of French naturalism, the proclamation that French literature was already under the aegis of the new conception. It served to strengthen the new conception of Zola in German criticism. The year 1888 brought two articles which gave expression to the belief that Zola was out of date. J. E. Grothe based his statement on the testimony of French critics.[61] Eugen von Jagow gave added force to the idea by showing that Zola himself believed that a new literary movement, which he welcomed as a necessary phase of literary evolution, had started.[62]

This proclamation reached a more important stage in

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[58] K. Grottewitz, "Überwindung des Milieus," *Mag.*, 1891, p. 455.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] "Das Milieu," *G.*, 1891, p. 343.

[61] "Streifzüge durch die französische Litteratur der Gegenwart," *Gr.*, 1888, 4, p. 504.

[62] "Zola über die Zukunft der Literatur," *Mag.*, 1888, p. 550.

1889 in the essays of Hermann Bahr, which not only proclaim the rise of the new school as an established fact, but define its character. "We are now," wrote Bahr,[63] "everywhere in revolt against the beginnings of naturalism." "We stand at a point where past and present meet, a point which heralds the rise of a new period."[64] "Zola is on the honor-list of the spirit which has just been deposed; he no longer corresponds to the needs of today's artistic taste. The most faithful naturalists are becoming more Bourgetized every day."[65]

> Naturalism in the novel and short story belongs once more to history. Its struggles, victory, and defeat lie behind us; the taste and need of the spirit have gone beyond it. . . . Those who listen eagerly for the tendencies in the culture of the present—and, from all signs, of the future—have nothing more to do with it. The new psychology, the new romanticism, the new idealism are the only questions now.[66]

The new school desires "to give form to that which is one's self, instead of copying what is outside one's self, to express that in which we feel and know we are different from the reality around us."[67] "The nature of the artist is no longer to be a tool merely to copy reality, but, vice versa, reality becomes the material of the poet with which to express his nature in clear and effective symbols." Naturalism will be replaced by "a romanticism of the nerves," later, a "mysticism of the nerves." Naturalism was but a necessary stage to the new literature.[68]

[63] "Der Naturalismus im Frack," *Nat.*, 1890, p. 661.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] "Die Krisis des französischen Naturalismus," *Mag.*, 1890, p. 562.

[66] "Naturalismus und Naturalismus," *G.*, XXXVIII, 170.

[67] *Überwindung des Naturalismus*, p. 152f.

[68] *Ibid.*

3. Julius Langbehn, Arno Holz, and Max Nordau as Representatives of the Third Period

Julius Langbehn, whose *Rembrandt als Erzieher* swept Germany in 1890, considered Zola "the typical enemy" of Germany.[69] Zola represented to him all that was un-German: analysis instead of synthesis, science instead of art, plebeianism instead of 'Volkstümlichkeit,' democracy instead of aristocracy. Langbehn's picture of the French naturalist, whose novels he considered 'Zuchthausarbeit,'[70] showed Zola as a 'Kelto-romane,' his characteristics as "brutality, sensuality, cold calculation mingled occasionally with sentimentality."[71] "One seeks in vain in him [Zola] for a healthy and at the same time fine emotion." He is an Italian 'Kraftnatur,' like Napoleon and Gambetta.[72] Whatever we may think of Langbehn's conception of Zola, with which some of his contemporaries disagreed,[73] we find here a picture of Zola which fits into the third period's conception in that it tried to define Zola's individuality. Langbehn's influence on some of the other critics can be traced,[74] but his conception has not been lasting.

Arno Holz occupies a unique position in the criticism during this period. His roots went deep into the second period; he was thoroughly impregnated with its ideas on science, truth, and evolution; like it, he demanded objectivity. He was revolutionary among its most radical representatives, and yet no more emphatic demand for an advance beyond Zola can be found in German criticism than

[69] Leipzig, 1890, p. 272.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] Harden, "Zola und sein Menschenvieh," *G.*, XXXVII, 216.
[74] E.g. Bettelheim, "La Bête Humaine," *Nat.*, VII, 355.

Die Kunst, ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze.[75] His early conception of Zola, expressed in his poems, was full of the second period's enthusiasm for Zola, "the Shakespeare of the novel," who alone was healthy in a sick world.[76] Holz is interesting as an example of one of the second period's reactions to the new conception of Zola.

Holz's early admiration for Zola's courage has not changed materially in his later critical essay where he wrote: "We know that you have fought the good fight for truth as best you could, and we are filled with admiration and thanks."[77] His revolt was from Zola's theory which, he believed, had not fulfilled its promise of an esthetic advance. What was the factor in Zola's theory that seemed to Holz no advance? Two essays give the answer, "Zola als Theoretiker"[78] and *Die Kunst, ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze.*[79]

As a theorist, wrote Holz in the former essay, Zola starts out from Taine, who had set up a law: "Every art-work is the product of its milieu," and a dogma: "The nature of art does not consist in the exact reproduction of nature." Zola did not go a step beyond this. In one word, while his practice advanced, his theory stood still. The latter essay states Holz' revolt in detail. There is no need here to repeat the familiar story of Holz' discovery of the new esthetic law, and we shall limit ourselves to an analysis of Holz' conception of Zola, the conception from which the law sprang.

While studying esthetics Holz suddenly remembered Zola's definition of a work of art and realized that it "expressed a truth but only a partial truth."[80] He thereupon

[75] Berlin, 1891.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 137f.
[78] *Fr. B.*, 1890, p. 101.
[79] Berlin, 1891.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

studied all of Zola's critical works. His resulting conclusion was: "So that was the so-called theory of so-called naturalism? Good Lord, that was exactly the same old metaphysical straw that I had been threshing all winter!" [81] The metaphysical element of which he speaks above is the part played by the 'tempérament' in the definition.[82] By a process of reasoning which we need not follow here, Holz reached the conclusion which he stated in the equation: art = nature — x.[83] This result achieved, he had to admit that "the good Émile, the fat burgomaster of Médan, was just as clever [as I], only to be sure, he had been clumsy enough to try to stop up the little gap x, which I had so carefully left open, with his stupid, coarse temperament, and so naturally, everything was all tangled up again. . . ." [84] The esthetic law which resulted from this reasoning, after the temperament had been excluded, is Holz' famous definition which 'overthrew' all previous esthetic theory including Zola's, the 'parrot' of Taine.[85]

If we analyze Holz' theory in relation to Zola, we find that Holz accepts the first part of the definition, "un coin de la nature," and condemns the second part. Only with the rise of the emphasis on the subjective elements in Zola's works, on his temperament, did the full implication in the last part of the definition become evident. Only as Holz became convinced that Zola had a decided temperament, and that his temperament colored his portrayal of reality, did he go beyond Zola. He was, therefore, a product of the third period. His theory was the last flight of naturalism from the pitiless theory of the great share of the personality in artistic creation. It was the irony of fate that one of the

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 117f.

most bitter theoretic attacks on Zola should come from what we may call his own camp. But this is natural, for those who believe the temperament and its reflection in an author's works to be the *sine qua non* of literature cannot be angry with an author for having that which he cannot be without.

Where did Holz get the conception of Zola which made him revolt thus? His own statement, that *Zola als Theoretiker* was conceived in 1887,[86] would make us believe it originated with him. This essay, however, was only "conceived" then and did not appear until 1890. My own personal conclusion is that, while Holz may well have had an inkling of the truth, his essay and *Die Kunst, ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze* are to be traced directly to the influence of Brandes' article in 1888. I base the conclusion on the following evidence: The material and general outline of "Zola als Theoretiker" are the same as those of Brandes' article; both give Taine as Zola's theoretical model, both state the relationship in similar terms, e.g., the catchwords that Zola took from Taine; both mention the relation of Zola to Balzac. The conception of Zola's nature is strikingly similar. Both give Taine's definition of a work of art: Brandes, as admitting the personality's part in creation; Holz, as denying that art copies nature exactly. In his later essay we have proof absolute that Holz knew and approved of Brandes' essay which he calls "bekannt und prächtig."[87] Holz took his conception of Zola from Brandes, and, as a naturalist, revolted from its implications.

Not all the critics who had affiliations with the second period of our study reacted as did Holz when the new conception of Zola burst upon them. Thus Conrad Alberti, whom we found as one of the most radical naturalistic

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

critics of the second period, accepted the new conception of Zola without revolt. His statement was called forth by O. J. Bierbaum's attack on his *Twelve Principles of Realism* [88] for their denial of the temperament's share in artistic creation. Alberti answered that he had started out from Zola's definition, and agreed that the temperament did color reality.[89] That which, according to Alberti, made Zola great was his "new and unique and personal conception of life, of society, of the typical figures of modern France, the light into which he puts everything, the original, moving power with which he presents all this." [90]

The new conception is carried to a conclusion as extreme as Holz', we may say, to fearful distortion, in Max Nordau's *Entartung,*[91] where Zola is not only pictured as a unique personality but as a "high-class degenerate." Although serious criticism has not accepted this interpretation, it is interesting as an expression of the attempt to find out just what Zola's personality was. It is hard to believe that the Max Nordau who in 1880 called Zola "one of the greatest writers of the century" [92] is the author of *Entartung.* Even in 1880, however, Nordau had pointed out that Zola exaggerated reality and that his conception was anthropomorphic, but there was no mention of psychological abnormality. *Entartung* was only possible when the pendulum had swung back toward psychology.

Nordau wrote, "Zola constantly practices that atavistic anthropomorphism and symbolism, consequent on undeveloped or mystically confused thought, which is found in savages in a natural form, and among the whole category of degenerates in an atavistic form, of mental activity."

[88] *Ges.,* V, 2, p. 670.
[89] *Ibid.,* p. 1167.
[90] *Natur und Kunst,* p. 91f.
[91] See Bibliography for the edition used.
[92] *Paris unter der dritten Republik,* p. 106.

Like Hugo and second-rate romanticists M. Zola sees every phenomenon monstrously distorted and magnified. It becomes for him, as for the savage, a fetish to which he attributes evil and hostile designs. This symbolism we encounter among all degenerates. The would-be realist sees the sober reality as little as a superstitiously timid savage or a lunatic afflicted by hallucinations.[93]

The only difference between Zola and the romanticists is, according to Nordau, his premeditated coarseness and his pessimism, the former a well-known morbid phenomenon, the latter due to "his nervous system being out of order." [94]

The confusion of thought which is shown in his theoretic writings, in his invention of the word naturalism, in his conception of the 'experimental novel,' his instinctive inclination to depict demented persons, criminals, prostitutes and demi-maniacs, his anthropomorphism, and his symbolism characterize him as a high-class degenerate.[95]

Other stigmata reveal him as a 'sex psychopath.' [96] Zola may well have consoled himself with the thought that Nordau gave him Nietzsche and Ibsen as companions in degeneracy.

4. Summary

The third period was interested primarily in rediscovering the artist as an individual, in rescuing him from the subordinate place which Zola's theory and the second period's conception of Zola had assigned him, and in restating artistic creation in terms of individual psychology. As an integral part of this interest, the period discovered in Zola's own case that his individuality played a far greater rôle in his creations than he or his admirers had imagined,

[93] *Degeneration*, p. 494.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 498f.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 499f.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 500.

and, hence, it sought to find in his novels subjective elements, and, in some cases, to analyze the psychology that made him see life as he did. The attempt to discover Zola's temperament and criticize his novels in its terms was first and best made by Georg Brandes in 1888.

The new conception denied first of all that an art-work was possible without subjective elements and pointed out that Zola admitted this in his definition. It then proceeded to point out such elements in Zola's own work: the arrangement of facts to achieve a certain effect; the use of traditional literary motives; the personifications of the milieu; the small and great symbols; the exaggeration of reality; the simplification and reduction of psychological traits; the personification of abstract ideas; the endowment of the landscape with the characters' moods. It pointed out that Zola approached reality with preconceived ideas. The attempt to define the psychology of these phenomena was not complete, Brandes making the best analysis and Max Nordau carrying the attempt to an extreme.

Since many of these elements are the stigmata of romanticism, the critics began to note likenesses between Zola's naturalism and French and German romanticism. But in spite of these elements, they thought Zola still had 'naturalistic instincts' and subordinated the individual to the milieu, a procedure which their theory could not but condemn. The third period criticized this in Zola, together with his attempt to subordinate the individuality in artistic creation. They saw a new school rise in France which meant the end of Zola's reign.

The third period neither condemned nor admired Zola exclusively, the decision depending on the critic's interpretation of Zola in the light of the new conception. Julius Langbehn and Max Nordau represent the entirely hostile criticism; Holz, the revolt of the second period on discovery

of the new Zola. The whole period, save Holz, is hostile to Zola in so far as he denies the importance of personality. The third period is the synthesis of the first and second, since it goes back to the first period's conception of artistic creation and to the second period's conception of Zola as a legitimate author.

When we try to define the factors that went to make up the new conception, we find that a reaction against the scientific positivism which we found so rife in the second period had set in. The reaction was against the subordination of the individuality in artistic creation. Julius Langbehn was one of the prophets of the new tendency. He demanded an abandoning of science, in the positivistic conception of the word, and a return to art, to individuality. "The interest in science and in the formerly so popular natural sciences is decreasing recently in wide circles of the German world. . . . We are satiated with induction; we thirst for synthesis; the days of objectivity are declining and subjectivity is knocking at the door." [97] "He who suffers from objectivity can only be cured by prescribing subjectivity." [98] This shift of emphasis created the new conception of Zola.

Another factor which caused the critics to examine Zola more sharply is the fact that around 1890 he was no longer the sole naturalistic author to occupy the center of the European stage. The influence of Ibsen and the Russian novelists had begun to make itself felt, and while the present study cannot evaluate exactly the importance of their rise for the new conception of Zola, as such a judgment would be possible only after a study of each of them such as we have made here for Zola, they seem to have played no small part. In the critical press of the time factors

[97] *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, p. 2.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

peculiar to them are pointed out and comparisons made which are not always favorable to Zola. Edgar Steiger, for example, pointed out how "the poetic power of these Russians . . . overcomes, as if it were child's play, all the difficulties at which the hair-splitting reason of the Frenchman labors in vain." [99] Maximilian Harden found Dostoievski deeper than Zola.[100] Nietzsche was hailed as a revolt against naturalism, and he appeared in Ola Hansson's essay [101] as a much greater, more creative author than Zola. Ibsen, Nietzsche, and the Russians helped the third period see that there were depths in the human soul that were too deep for the crude methods of the naturalism of Zola's school to plumb.

Finally, it must be emphasized that Zola was no longer new in these years but had been writing long enough to allow a more objective, historical interpretation to be made. Did not Harden contrast "the young and the old Zola" at this time for the first time in the entire Zola-criticism? [102] Was not Brandes able to see him in better perspective than any one before 1888? And, too, Zola's novels, from *Le Rêve* on, showed a change. They were not only more subjective, but also impressed the critics as artistically less powerful. The last novels, be it because the Rougon-Macquart series was too long to keep its interest or because the novels were artistically weaker, dampened the critics' ardor and made them more ready to turn to what lay beyond Zola.

[99] *Der Kampf um die neue Dichtung*, p. 77.
[100] "Zola und sein Menschenvieh," *G.*, XXXVII, 216.
[101] "Friederich Nietzsche und der Naturalismus," *G.*, 1891, p. 275.
[102] *Nat.*, VII, 114.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing survey of the eighteen years (1875–1893) during which Émile Zola's works and theory may be said to have had an active, creative relation to German literary criticism, certain conclusions have appeared, which, in the case of the first and second chapters, serve to substantiate and complement the statements that literary historians have already made concerning these two periods; and in the case of the third chapter, to throw new light on Zola's relation to the movement away from naturalism. The present investigation has shown that the first reaction to Zola was complete hostility, the natural reaction to a theory which denied so categorically the validity of all existing literary tenets, and stated this denial in such unvarnished and straight-forward language. It has been shown that this hostility was followed by a counter-movement in favor of Zola on the part of a new group of critics who attempted a reinterpretation and, in most cases, completely reversed the interpretation that the hostile period had put upon his theory and endeavors. This new conception of Zola marks an advance in two points: it recognized Zola as a legitimate author, a recognition which the first period had refused, thus paving the way for a satisfactory critical understanding of Zola the artist; secondly, it approached Zola's theory and works from the positive angle (even though it oftentimes lost itself in the labyrinth of narrow, naturalistic dogma) and thus made available for modern literature those valuable, creative factors which Zola's naturalism undoubtedly contained.

Neither the first nor the second period, however, was able to do what was absolutely essential to a final interpretation of Zola: break away from the spell of naturalistic theory (its own and Zola's) and study Zola as an artistic personality, as an artist with a definitely personal approach to life. The first period had not considered Zola a sufficiently justified literary figure to make such an interpretation, which it would surely have made for a less despised and feared opponent; the second, even though its insistence on Zola's powerful, colorful personality held the germ of such an interpretation, was unable to see Zola as an extremely subjective artist, because its theory excluded personality from the work of art and demanded complete objectivity. Not until 1888 did the third conception of Zola become vocal. The third conception marks an advance in German Zola-criticism which is incomparably greater than that made by the second period in its defense of Zola. For the first time the artist is presented to the reader, not the theorist or the naturalist. For the first time it is made evident that this artist does not see life and portray it without subjective interference, that his 'tempérament,' in spite of his theoretic demand for objectivity, highly colors his presentation of reality. The fact that this interpretation of Zola, in general outline and in most details, has become the present-day conception, is proof that it alone of the three interpretations was satisfactory.

Before turning to our conclusions concerning the nature and causes of these three periods, it will be well to discuss briefly the evidence concerning the antagonism of the first period toward Zola, and the receptivity of the second period, in relation to the critics' generations. The critics of the early, hostile period were older men of established reputation whose whole system of thought was contrary to Zola's. We have to turn back to an earlier era than Zola's

to find the period in which their training took place, and we find that by the time they came in contact with Zola their mental outlook was no longer receptive. No matter how we may criticize their methods of attack, we must admit that they attacked from honest conviction of the justice of their cause. On the other hand, the receptive critics discussed in Chapter II of the present study were none of them beyond their thirties, some still in their twenties; they are all of Zola's generation, if not in years, at least in ideas. By education and experience they were led to think in scientific and social terms, terms to which, with few exceptions, they gave the connotation that Zola gave. Zola's world of thought is their world of thought, even though in certain instances their thought is colored by a different national tradition. The final interpretation of Zola came, however, from a critic, Georg Brandes, who bridged the generations (though closer, perhaps, to the younger) and stood above their prejudices, just as he stood above the dogmatic struggle over the theory of naturalism, with sufficient detachment to enable him to see Zola absolutely objectively.

We may now present our detailed conclusions as to the nature and causes of the three periods in German Zola-criticism. The unanimous hostility of the first period toward Zola may be ascribed only in the smallest measure to national hostility; in fact such interpretations are exceptional. Of greater importance is the factor of national tradition, although here again we are dealing with a minor factor. It is true, however, that these critics attempted at times to interpret Zola in terms of Schiller and Goethe, and, not surprisingly, found that he did not correspond at all to the standard they applied. The major factor we found to be antagonism in basic mental outlook. The hostile critics were aristocratic, Zola democratic; they emphasized esthet-

ics, Zola science; they were philosophical, speculative, and metaphysical in their approach to life, Zola positivistic, empirical, practical. The two approaches are mutually exclusive.

We found, further, that these antagonisms resulted in three contradictory basic beliefs: on social morality, esthetics, and the psychology of artistic creation. The hostile critics believed in a moral code which set a limit that was not to be transgressed. Zola demanded a complete, frank study and presentation of the data of any and every social evil. His morality consisted in eradicating evil through knowledge. Each side claimed that its morality was the highest morality. Zola's critics believed in certain esthetic tenets which the true artist could not and should not transgress; Zola believed that every age created its own laws and that the principles on which his critics acted could become, and had become, antiquated. No less diametrically opposed are the two conceptions of the psychology of artistic creation. To the hostile critics artistic creation was emotional, imaginative, intuitional; to Zola it was rational, logical, a matter of knowledge. To him the artist was a scientist working in a different medium, but with the same mental equipment.

The second period was democratically (less politically than socially) inclined, scientific, and practical, hostile to speculative methods, hostile to the metaphysical approach to life. As a result, they agreed completely with Zola's basic beliefs, and shared his antagonism toward the older generation. The one exception to this rule is that they did not consider literature a science, but merely wished it to be scientific in method and spirit, agreeing entirely with Zola's application of the methods of science to literary problems, and with his interpretation of artistic psychology. It must be pointed out that many of the critics who accepted Zola's

basic beliefs did so with certain minor reservations which, however, were matters of individual taste and not typical of the whole receptive criticism.

Zola's mission to these younger critics, who were attracted to him with added force as a contrast to the literary and critical conditions in the Germany of their day, was to show them the relation of their scientific knowledge and their social experience to literature. Zola could not teach them science, in which they were usually better trained than he, nor did he need to point out to them that social problems existed. He showed them how to harness these forces to literary tasks; he was a guide-book to a country that was new to them. He inspired and encouraged them by his example. Our survey has shown that this is exactly their interpretation of Zola. It has also adduced evidence to show that they did not want slavish imitation of Zola, since they saw that his findings could be creatively applied to German literature only on a German basis.

The evidence from our investigation of the final phase of Zola's reception in German criticism leads us to the conclusion that Georg Brandes' article, written in 1888, marked the beginning of, and was largely responsible for, an analysis and portrayal of Zola's creative psychology. This new conception has been shown in the entire criticism after 1888, and shown to have been a factor of prime, if not sole importance in causing Arno Holz' revolt from Zola, and an important factor in Max Nordau's attempt to prove Zola's psychological abnormality.

The causes that brought about the final interpretation of Zola were varied. The new interpretation was, first of all, part and parcel of the critical (and later literary) revolt against the scientific positivism of naturalism, especially against the subordination of the artistic personality that naturalism had demanded. Langbehn's *Rembrandt*

als Erzieher furnished us an excellent example of this, both in its attack on the narrow scientific philosophy and in its conception of Zola himself. This tendency was strengthened by the example of French literature, which was already moving away from positivism and Zola to psychology and Bourget. The way was opened for the new interpretation by Zola's own novels, since *Le Rêve* and *La Bête Humaine,* especially the latter, forced Zola's creative peculiarities on the critics' attention, while the later volumes tended toward ever increasing subjectivity, as the critics noted especially in *Le Docteur Pascal.* At the same time, the last three volumes of the Rougon-Macquart series awakened a feeling in the critics that Zola's artistic power had declined, and thus made them more ready to pass beyond him to something new. The very fact also that, from 1888 on, critics could see the Rougon-Macquart cycle in an approximate totality, in a better perspective, made a more just criticism possible. They were no longer dealing with a novel problem; Zola's work was now familiar and its various facets now visible, so that such a study was not only possible, but necessary.

It may be well to note in conclusion some of the more important facts in Zola's subsequent reception in Germany, although they lie outside the limits set for the present study. That the interest in Zola did not cease with 1893 goes without saying, as does the fact that new data and an even better historical perspective have enabled critics to make further progress toward an understanding of the man and his works. The detailed analysis of this material must await further investigation, but we may here point out that the third conception of Zola, as outlined in the present investigation, still serves as the basic frame-work of the modern conception. Zola's part in the Dreyfus case awakened new interest in Zola just before the turn

of the century and once more put him in the forefront of Germany's attention. The interest was political and social rather than literary, but it at least turned all eyes once more to Zola and his works. His death in 1902 brought forth countless articles in the most widely different journals. He was discussed from many angles and his contributions to modern literature passed in review. The coming of German democracy after the World War awakened some new interest in Zola as a champion of social idealism and democracy. Nor has the interest in Zola completely died out to-day. These same tendencies can be traced in the translations of Zola's works, which have all appeared in one or more editions. The Rougon-Macquart cycle, upon which the major interest has always centered, appeared in a twenty-volume edition as late as 1927. The high points for the translations fall in the years 1888, 1890, 1899–1900; the bibliography of translations shows a fairly well-sustained interest throughout, however. It is interesting to note that this does not apply exclusively, as one might expect, to such major novels as *L'Assommoir, Nana,* and *Germinal,* but is true of the lesser novels and the stories as well.

The German bibliography of criticism and translation would seem to show that Zola was not merely a passing fad, but a literary figure of lasting importance.

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Ein tugendhafter Roman von Zola, *G.*, XXXIV, 296.
Zolas Geld, *G.*, XXXIX, 311.

INDEX

Alberti, C., 59, 60, 67, 91–92
Amicis, E. d', 42
Amyntor, G. v., 20
Aristotle, 54

Bahr, H., 73, 75, 83, 87
Balzac, H., 26, 91
Bernard, C., 84
Bierbaum, O. J., 92
Bleibtreu, K., 36, 38, 39, 41, 47, 49, 50, 54, 60, 67, 76, 78
Bölsche, W., 36, 37, 46–47, 50, 63, 66, 67, 75, 78, 83
Bourget, P., 87, 102
Brandes, G., 72, 73, 78–82, 84, 85, 91, 94, 96, 99, 101

Carrière, M., 18, 82, 86
Clauren, H., 8
Conrad, M. G., 5, 6, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43–45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67
Cristaller, G., 38, 52

Daudet, A., 49
Dostoievski, F., 96

Engel, E., 2, 3, 4, 6, 14, 26, 30, 38

Fried, A., 82

Goethe, W. v., 33, 65, 99
Gottschall, R. v., 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 40
Grothe, J. E., 86

Hansson, O., 83, 96
Harden, M., 73, 74, 82, 96
Hart, H. and J., 36, 37, 42–43, 47, 64, 67, 69
Hart, J., 54, 57, 64
Hellwigk, 26
Herrmann, K., 36, 37, 47, 48, 50, 61, 67
Hillebrand, J., 78
Holz, A., 73, 88–92, 94, 101
Hugo, V., 8, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81, 93

Ibsen, H., 82, 93, 95, 96

Jagow, E. v., 86
Jensen, W., 20, 61

Koenig, W., 13

Lamartine, A. de., 74
Langbehn, J., 73, 88, 94, 95, 101
Lemaître, J., 38
Lindau, P., 3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, 38, 51, 54

Mann, L. H., 83
Mielke, H., 83

Nietzsche, F., 43, 93, 96
Nordau, M., 77, 92–93, 94, 101

Peterson, F. K., 42
Pfau, L., 3, 5, 11, 19, 22, 24, 26, 77

Rodenberg, J., 42

Sand, G., 74
Schiller, F., 33, 99
Schmidt, E., 74, 82

Schmidt, J., 2, 10, 23, 77
Schmidt-Weissenfels, E., 14
Scribe, E., 26
Servaes, F., 74, 75, 84
Shakespeare, W., 61, 89
Soergel, A., 4, 5, 6
Sokal, C., 75, 83
Steiger, E., 96
Stendahl (Henri Beyle), 75

Taine, H., 79, 80, 89, 90, 91

Wacht, G., 5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 24
Wagner, R., 43
Weigand, W., 82
Welten, O., 36, 38, 41, 45–46, 59, 62, 65, 67, 78
Wolff, E., 56, 64, 69, 84–85

Zadeck, J., 8
Zola, É., 23, 34, 36, 38, 51, 59, 72
La Fortune des Rougons, 11, 12, 22, 79–80
La Curée, 11, 12, 22, 25, 77
Le Ventre de Paris, 9, 11, 25, 81
La Conquête de Plassans, 9, 11, 24, 62
La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret, 6, 11, 12, 78, 80
Son Excellence Eugène Rougon, 11, 24
L'Assommoir, 1, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 24, 38, 39, 51, 54, 80, 103
Une Page d'Amour, 15
Nana, 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 22, 39, 54, 58, 103
Pot-Bouille, 11, 12, 13, 21
Au Bonheur des Dames, 11, 12, 13, 20, 24, 25, 39, 63
La Joie de Vivre, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 25, 38, 39
Germinal, 38, 47, 49, 50, 54, 60, 103
L'Œuvre, 39, 80
La Terre, 39, 82
Le Rêve, 39, 73–74, 96, 102
La Bête Humaine, 74–75, 83, 102
L'Argent, 75, 76, 84
La Débâcle, 75–76
Le Docteur Pascal, 76, 102
Les Rougon-Macquart, as series, 1, 7, 12, 13, 23, 38, 73, 74, 76, 83, 96, 102, 103
Zolling, T., 3, 5, 25, 29, 38, 75, 77

VITA

Winthrop Hegeman Root was born September 21, 1901, in Providence, Rhode Island, where his father, E. Tallmadge Root, was pastor of a Congregational church. His early education was received at the Chester Avenue and Peace Street Schools in the City of Providence, and at the Central High School of Somerville, Massachusetts. He took his bachelor's degree at Amherst College in 1923; studied German during the following year at Cambridge University, England, as Simpson Memorial Fellow from Amherst College; then went to Columbia University as holder of the Carl Schurz Memorial Fellowship, receiving his M.A. degree in June, 1925. From 1925–1927 he was Instructor in German at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut; in the fall of 1927 he returned to Columbia University to complete his studies, and as part-time Instructor in the winter session 1927–1928 and Instructor in the summer sessions 1928 and 1929. He spent the year 1928–1929 in Germany. During the session 1929–1930 he was Instructor in German at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, and in 1930 was called to Williams College as Assistant Professor of German, a position which he now holds.

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